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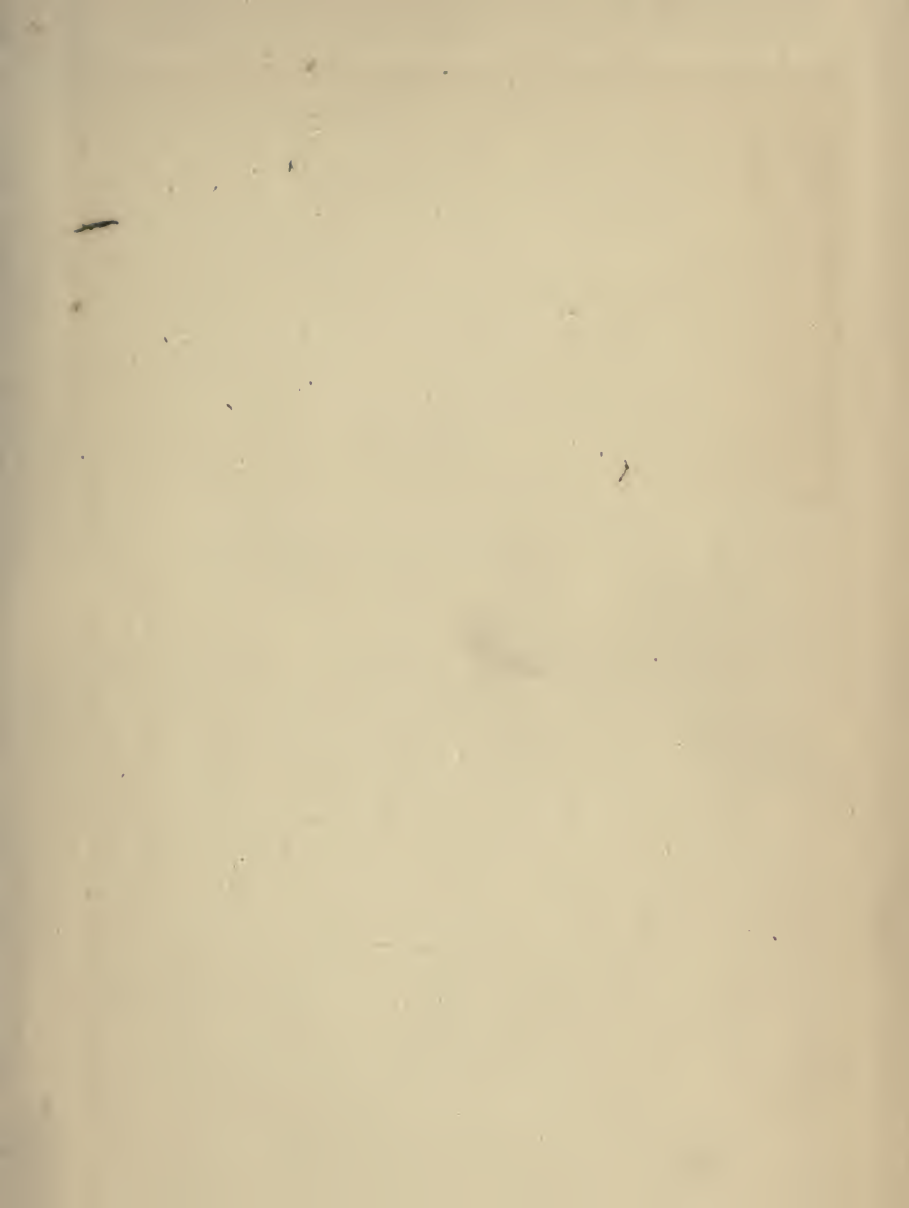
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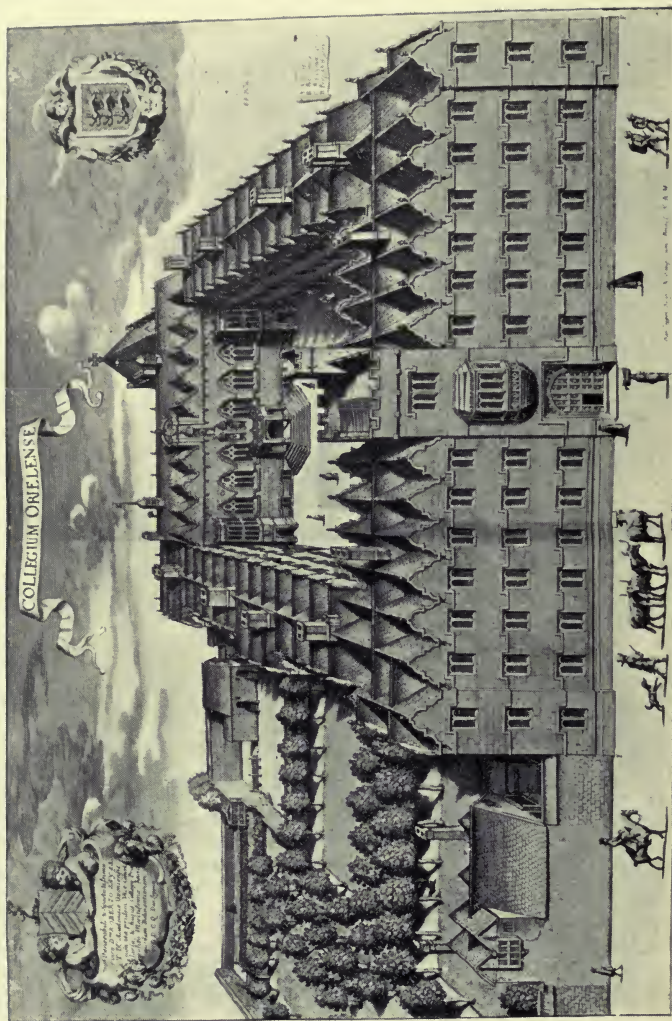
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University of Oxford

COLLEGE HISTORIES

ORIEL COLLEGE

BY

DAVID WATSON RANNIE, M.A.

ORIEL COLLEGE

LECTURER ON MODERN HISTORY AT EXETER COLLEGE



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TO

MISS HAWKINS

IN THE MODERN HISTORY OF YOUR FATHER'S COLLEGE
HARDLY ANY FIGURE OCCUPIES A LARGER SPACE OR
STANDS OUT IN STRONGER RELIEF THAN THAT OF
YOUR FATHER HIMSELF. FRESH FROM THE SPELL
OF HIS POWERFUL PRESENCE, I GLADLY TAKE THE
OPPORTUNITY WHICH YOUR KINDNESS AFFORDS ME
OF INSCRIBING THIS LITTLE BOOK WITH YOUR NAME.

P R E F A C E

THIS sketch has been prepared with constant reference to the *origines* of the college history, which include, besides the manuscript archives stored in the muniment-room, the various statutes and ordinances of the college, the "Deans' Register," which furnishes the authentic record, only too incomplete, of the proceedings of the college from the beginning of the sixteenth century, the series of 'Treasurers' books known as "The Style," and others. I have not ventured to carry on the history beyond the death of the late Provost, except in Chapter X., which, consisting of little more than lists, it has seemed desirable to bring as nearly as possible up to date. In a sketch of these dimensions it has been essential to pursue a principle of very careful selection. It may well be that the inevitable process has not always been wisely performed, and that some readers may miss what they had a good right to expect to find. If so, I can but plead the difficulties of the task, and ask forgiveness.

I have to express my thanks to several members of the college for most valuable help: to the Provost for kindly allowing me to see the correspondence between Provost Hawkins and the three Tutors; to the Dean,

the Rev. F. H. Hall, for information on athletics, without which Chapter X. could not have been attempted; and to Professor F. C. Montague, the present Librarian, for knowledge about the contents of the Library. I am indebted to Mr. W. A. Craigie, one of the most learned of the younger members of Oriel, for the interpretation of Bishop Robinson's runes, given on p. 124.

My obligation to Dr. C. L. Shadwell cannot be dismissed in so few words. I have, of course, used freely the chapter on Oriel contributed by him to Mr. Andrew Clark's volume on *The Colleges of Oxford*, and the published volume of his *Registrum Oriense*, as well as those invaluable catalogues to the college muniments and to the antiquities of St. Mary's which have been printed, but not published. But that is, after all, to say little. No one can inquire into any corner of the past of Oriel without finding that Dr. Shadwell has been on the quest before him, and has in all likelihood found out the secret. He has kindly allowed me free access to all his laborious and multifarious notes bearing on the college history, and I have constantly resorted to his judgment when in any doubt or difficulty. I may add that he has been good enough to read through my proof-sheets, and has helped me with many most useful suggestions. And though I should be sorry indeed to attempt to make him responsible for any single statement or shade of colouring in the book, I may be allowed to express my regret that it is not worthier, I dare not say of my labours, but of his.

D. W. R.

OXFORD,

June, 1900.

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CHAPTER I

THE FOUNDERS AND THE FOUNDATION (1326-1332)

Adam de Brome, 1326-1332

THE collegiate foundation, of which the following pages will tell the story, was originally, and is still formally and primarily, called the House or Hall of the Blessed Mary at Oxford; but before very many years had passed it began to be occasionally known by that familiar name of "Oriel,"* under which all men now recognise it. Like the others of the earliest group of colleges, it illustrates by its beginnings several points of much interest in medieval education. The movement which gave rise to the early Oxford colleges ought to be compared with, and carefully distinguished from, the various monastic movements of the Middle Age. It is one of the chief glories of monasticism, both in its earlier forms and much more as it appeared in the various orders of Friars, that it realized and provided for the needs of education. The intellectual enthusiasm of the regular clergy made itself practically felt in

* The earliest instance of the use of the word Oriel as a name for the college occurs in 1349.

Oxford in the thirteenth century. The University itself, it is true, with its apparatus of "schools" and "halls," drew its chief support from the secular clergy; but during the reign of Henry III. the inspiration which made the age educationally fruitful came from the Friars, all the four principal orders of whom settled themselves in Oxford during the thirteenth century, and supplied her schools with some of their chief ornaments. The older orders lagged somewhat behind the Friars; but the Benedictine foundation of Gloucester College showed that they too were alive to the advantage of applying a common rule and a quasi-corporate organization to purposes of study within the University; and that example was followed again and again.

It is hardly necessary to remind the reader that the group of foundations to which Oriel belongs derived their leading principles from Walter de Merton's institutions in 1264 and 1274. Walter de Merton was one of the pioneers of the education of the world. By his foundations at Malden in 1264 and at Oxford in 1274, he planted in England a new form of brotherhood or college—an unprecedented educational agency. In superficial aspect it was as monastic as a Benedictine or Dominican establishment; it had a common rule and a common life; corporate property; an elected superior; a church and chaplains; its objects were the glory of God and the good of the Church. But in certain important respects the colleges of which Merton was the model were at variance with the monastic, and even with the cathedral, school. It was an essential part of the Merton Statutes that no member of the college should become a monk; but that was not all.

The primary object of the new type of brotherhood was *study*—study, indeed, as ancillary to the glory of God and the good of the Church, but still primarily study. To the convent or friary, the school, however indispensable and however held in honour, was but an adjunct. The cathedral and the convent alike aimed at the salvation of men rather than at their education. But the foundation of the new type of college coincides in some measure with that large national movement whereby the medieval civil service arrived at an organization increasingly independent of purely ecclesiastical associations. Walter de Merton and Bishop Stapledon, the founder of Exeter College, were great Ministers of State, and their educational foundations are to be regarded as nurseries of statesmen quite as much as confraternities dedicated to theology.

Our college boasts the distinction of being a royal foundation. Of the college of the Blessed Mary, however, it has to be said that, as in other instances, the royal parentage was hardly more than titular. King Edward II. has not left behind him a good record either of personal character or of statesmanlike achievement; yet he was not without friendliness both to religion and learning, and he was at least capable of adopting a good suggestion. His almoner, Adam de Brome, was a man of considerable prominence in the King's service, and is a good specimen of the medieval ecclesiastic, who was also an educational reformer, and a lover of his country's best interests. Early in the reign he was one of the King's Clerks of Chancery. Twice, while the see of Durham was vacant, he was ordered to go down and take charge of the Bishop's seals until the vacancy was

filled. In 1313 he was parson of Handesworth in Yorkshire. In 1320 he was presented by the King to the Rectory of St. Mary the Virgin at Oxford.*.

It would be pleasant if we could think that, as Rector of St. Mary's, Adam de Brome had an opportunity of breathing the air of academic life and realizing its further needs. Then, quite as much as now, his church stood at the centre of that life in Oxford. The Via Scholastica, carrying the tide of University students to and from the Schools, passed its western end. To the southward, across the High Street, at the foot of the short slope leading to the level of the river-meadows, hard by the church of St. John the Baptist, stood the buildings of Walter de Merton's college, while University and Exeter were near, and Balliol was not far off. But there is no evidence that Adam, as Rector, resided at Oxford. When he was not journeying about on the King's business, his home was no doubt in London, in his house at Newgate. However, the thought came to him of founding another college like Merton, and when it came, was not long in being turned into a deed. On April 28, 1324, Letters Patent were issued by the King giving licence to his "beloved clerk, Adam de Brome," to found a college of Scholars in the University of Oxford. From the King's love for the Blessed Virgin as well as his desire for the increase of God's glory,† he granted Adam's urgent request. The licence was, in

* The current accounts of Adam de Brome, even that in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, are founded on somewhat inadequate research, and are consequently erroneous in some respects.

† *Divinus Cultus* is the Latin. It is not easy to translate it satisfactorily.

the first place, to acquire and hold in mortmain a messuage in the town or suburb of Oxford; and, in the second place, to found in the premises so acquired a college of students of divers sciences in the Virgin's honour. The college was to be perpetually governed by a Rector elected by the Scholars; and the details of government were to be settled by Adam de Brome himself. A sufficient endowment was provided by a licence to the Rector and scholars to hold in mortmain property to the value of £30 a year.

The royal licence obtained, Adam de Brome lost no time in acquiring premises and property. In 1324 he bought two tenements in Oxford, namely, Tackley's Inn on the south side of the High Street (now No. 106) to the west of St. Mary's, and Perilous Hall on the north side of Horsmonger Strete, now Broad Street. For endowment he purchased the advowson of the church of Aberford, in Yorkshire. On December 6 he issued a charter of foundation in accordance with the licence of April; and a royal charter, confirming that of Adam, was issued by Edward II. on December 20. The college was declared to be for the study of theology and the *ars dialectica*. John de Laughton was appointed the first Rector; and Tackley's Inn was assigned as the premises of the college.

These events of 1324, in which Adam de Brome is the chief mover, were but a rehearsal of the real and permanent foundation of our college. Of what happened to the infant Society in 1325 we know nothing, but it seems likely that a direct refoundation by the King himself presented itself as desirable for its health and strength. On January 1, 1326, Adam de

Brome surrendered the property of the college into Edward's hands; and on January 21 the King issued by Letters Patent a charter of foundation in his own name, which is, properly speaking, the original charter of the college. In this document the King connects the foundation with himself and his own high and disinterested purposes, with his love of the Church and his zeal for sound learning and religious knowledge. The college in its new form was to be governed by a Provost instead of a Rector, and Adam de Brome was appointed the first Provost. All future Provosts were to be chosen by the Scholars from their own number. The college was re-endowed with the premises of Tackley's Inn and Perilous Hall.

One feature of this charter was of great importance for the future of the college. Adam de Brome, we remember, the Provost of St. Mary's College, was Rector of St. Mary's Church. The King was moved to strengthen the connexion between church and college, between the care of souls and the training of youth, by endowing the new college with the advowson and rectory of the church of St. Mary. The revenues of the church were to be appropriated to the use of the college on condition of the perpetual supply by the latter of four chaplains to celebrate Divine service daily in the church. With a view to the increase of the college, the Provost and Scholars were granted permission to acquire lands, revenues, or ecclesiastical property to the extent of sixty librates of land—*i.e.*, £60 a year from real estate.

The original statutes of the college bear the same date (January 21, 1326) as the charter. In these the



From a photograph by the]

[Oxford Camera Club

THE FRONT, WITH TOWER OF ST. MARY'S.



main objects of the royal founder and of the college are again set forth, and the plan of the foundation is exhibited in full detail. The college is a corporation consisting of a head and ten Scholars. The original ten, for this time chosen by the Provost, are to devote themselves to theology; those elected afterwards to fill vacancies are to acquire proficiency in the liberal arts and in philosophy until, in the judgment of the Provost and the other members of the college, they are fit to proceed to theology. Five or six of the Scholars are to be chosen by the Provost (whose choice is to be aided by that of some of the senior Scholars) for the study of Canon Law, and these, at the discretion of the Provost, may be permitted to study Civil Law as well.

The Provost must be a man circumspect both in temporal and spiritual affairs. His rule is to extend not only over the Scholars living with him in the premises of the college, but over the chaplains and all who minister to the sacred or secular interests of the Society. Vacancies in the Provostship are to be filled by the Scholars from their own number within three days of notice of vacancy; and he who is elected is at once to get confirmation of his election from the King's Chancellor. Failing unanimity of election, the Chancellor is to intervene and decide.

Under the Provost there is to be a senior student chosen by the college, who is to have the title of Dean. His duties are to exercise a general disciplinary supervision of the scholars and chaplains, to act for the Provost in the event of his absence, and in his presence to assist him in the discharge of his functions. In his

duties of supervision the Dean is to be aided by certain of the more discreet Scholars, one of whom is to be at the head of every twenty, or even of every ten. In each room there is to be an overseer of conduct who can report, if necessary, to the Provost or to the college as a whole.

The Scholars are to have a common table, and are to be read aloud to during meals, maintaining a careful and attentive silence the while. Only such persons as are of unexceptionable character, needy and apt to learn, are to be chosen as Scholars, and for each a year of probation before final admission is prescribed. Before admission each Scholar must have passed successfully the trial necessary in those days for the Bachelor's degree—*i.e.*, *determinare probabiliter in arte dialecticâ*; and in no case is a Scholar to devote himself to theological study until he has shown proficiency in dialectic or philosophy.

The number of Scholars is to be accommodated to the amount of the college property, each Scholar receiving 52s. a year—*i.e.*, twelve pence a week for commons. The number of Scholars may be increased in proportion to increase of revenue. Once admitted, the Scholars are to receive their allowances regularly during good behaviour. Constant or incurable illness, entrance into a monastic order, receipt of revenue from other sources, as well as neglect of study, are to bring the scholarship to an end. Serious misconduct is to be followed by expulsion after careful inquiry.

New Scholars are to be elected by the Provost and the Scholars, or, in the event of want of unanimity, by the Provost and six seniors.

In case of serious discord within the Society, the

matter is to be settled, in the first instance, by the Heads of Twenties and the Subdecani; if they fail to settle, there is appeal to the Provost, whose judgment is final.

Three times a year—namely, eight days before Christmas, eight days before Easter, and eight days before the Feast of St. Margaret—a chapter is to be held, at which a thorough examination is to be made of the intellectual and moral condition of each member of the Society, and at which claims to the benefits of the college may be taken into consideration. At these chapters Divine service is to be celebrated in St. Mary's in commemoration of the founder, the Provost, and benefactors.

Certain of the more discreet Scholars are to keep the accounts of the college, to receive its revenues and take charge of their distribution, and to receive bailiffs' reports. Moreover, the Provost is to submit annually to certain persons elected *ad hoc* by the Scholars an account of his administration, and of the income of the college.

Very definite rules were made as to the relation between the church and college of St. Mary. The services were to be regulated (under the supervision of the Provost) either by the Dean, or by some other Scholars chosen for the purpose. The four chaplains whom the college was bound to maintain in return for the appropriated revenues of the church were to be provided by the Provost, and subject to the authority of the Dean. On all the Scholars, except regents, it was obligatory to go to church in surplices every Sunday and on special feasts, and to be present at daily mass,

matins, first and second vespers, and other Hours. Regents were exempted from attending second vespers.

The duties of the Provost are not exhausted by what has hitherto been recorded. Each autumn after harvest he was to make a circuit of the lands belonging to the college, to value them, and to put his valuation in writing that it might be compared with the results at the audit. He was to dine at the Scholars' common table "as one of them"; and to have, in addition to his commons, two marks for clothes and other necessities, besides a reasonable sum for travelling expenses on behalf of the college. He was removable by the King's Chancellor on account of misuse of property, incontinence, or other reasonable cause, on the explicit accusation of the college, which was understood to be unanimous. A deprived Provost could never be readmitted.

Such are the main provisions of the original statutes. With very few exceptions they are taken, *mutatis mutandis*, from the Statutes of Merton of 1274. But neither Merton nor any other Oxford college ever had a *Secundarius* of quite the same character with that of the Dean of Oriel. Something a good deal more than a deputy or a disciplinarian, with long terms of office and a distinct independent dignity, he was, and is, unique among Oxford college officials holding that title.

The first premises of the college thus inaugurated as a royal foundation were either at Tackley's Inn, or in the manse or rectory-house of St. Mary's, directly opposite the church on the south side of High Street, afterwards to be St. Mary Hall. There seems, indeed, to be no doubt that the latter was assigned to the Provost and Scholars, an arrangement obviously suggested

by the fact that the Provost and the Rector of St. Mary's were the same person. The statutes contained a distinct permission to the Provost and Scholars to acquire and occupy new premises in the parish if it should seem desirable to do so.

A few months after the foundation, a constitutional change was made which, slight as it probably seemed at the time, had power, as we shall find, to lash into momentary foam the sleepy waters of eighteenth century life at Oriel. Neither the initiation of Adam de Brome, nor the effective royal patronage with which it was followed up, was deemed enough for the young Society, and in the spring of 1326 the House or Hall of St. Mary was put under the direct patronage of Henry de Burghash, Bishop of Lincoln. The diocese of Lincoln in those days included Oxford, and Henry de Burghash was a very important man. The association between the college and the Bishop of Lincoln was signalized by the issue, in the King's name, of new statutes, dated May 23, 1326. These statutes, which were in force at Oriel down to 1726, differ in some important respects from those of January. For one thing, the name of the college, left uncertain in January, was fixed in May. Again, whereas by the January code five or six scholars might study Canon or Civil Law, by that of May only three were permitted to do so. Provosts on election were to be presented for confirmation, not to the King's Chancellor, but to the Bishop of Lincoln or to his *officiarius* in case of vacancy. The Dean was to be appointed by the Provost with the consent of the Scholars, instead of being elected by the college.

Some careful changes were made as to the course of study. In every case a two or three years' course of Civil Law must precede the study of the Canon Law. Additional Scholars, admitted in consequence of increased funds, were to be made to study dialectic, and then to proceed to theology.

The Scholars were to co-operate with the Provost and Dean in all matters of importance. In matters "of light and daily business," the officers of the college were to refrain from troubling the Scholars for fear of disturbing their studies.

For the removal of a Provost, as well as for the confirmation of his election, the Bishop of Lincoln was substituted for the King's Chancellor.

In these statutes of May, 1326, a further step towards the complete incorporation of the college was taken by the provision of a common seal. There seems good reason to believe that the seal has never been changed. It represents the Annunciation, with the figure of Adam de Brome kneeling below. The legend is: "Sig. Comune Domus Scholarium Beate Marie Oxon." It was to be kept in a box with three keys—one to be kept in the Provost's custody, and the other two entrusted to two of the more discreet and trustworthy Scholars. The seal was in no case to be used without the consent of all its three guardians, and for its use in matters of great moment the consent of the whole Society, personally or by deputy, was required.

The two Scholar-keepers of the seal were to act as treasurers, and with the Provost were to render an account annually about Michaelmas.

In a clause giving permission to the Provost and

Scholars to frame new statutes, the approval of the Bishop of Lincoln was made essential to their adoption. The connexion with Lincoln was also specially emphasized with regard to the services in St. Mary's. Daily exequies were to be said at the altar of St. Anne's Chapel by Scholars of the college for the souls of the father and mother of Henry de Burghash, for the Bishop himself, and for his brothers and sisters, as well as for the King and Adam de Brome. After the death of Henry an anniversary mass of the dead was to be said regularly in his memory. At the scrutiny, three times a year, mass was to be said for Edward I., Edward II., the Bishop of Lincoln, and Adam de Brome. Finally, to the Bishop of Lincoln was given the power of interpreting as well as of reforming the statutes.

The Bishop confirmed the new statutes on June 11, 1326. In the course of the same year he confirmed the appropriation of St. Mary's. Before August 1 Adam de Brome had resigned the rectory into the hands of the college; and, on that date, the college was inducted by the Prior of St. Frideswide, Adam de Brome con-tinuing his incumbency as vicar.

As we shall see in the next chapter, additions were soon made to the endowments of the college; and that fact may explain one feature in a group of supplementary statutes issued on December 8, 1329, nearly three years after the accession of Edward III. These additional statutes were made by the Provost and Scholars themselves; and they are interesting as showing what, of amendment or expansion, presented itself, after nearly four years' experience, as feasible or desirable to the minds of the Society.

In the first place it was provided that future Provosts might hold a benefice along with the Provostship. The Provost's yearly stipend was to be increased to ten marks; and it was permitted to him to have a separate table at his pleasure.

In the last resort, dissensions were to be settled by the college; in no case was an outside authority to be called in.

Weekly during term the Scholars were to hold disputations among themselves; one in philosophy, if there were seven students of philosophy, another in theology, with a similar condition.

One interesting clause bears testimony to the existence of a library. Each year, at the Feast of All Souls, in presence of the Provost or his vicegerent and of the whole college, an inspection of the college books was to be held; each Scholar was to choose a book most appropriate to his studies, which he might keep until the following All Souls' Day, when the process would be repeated. After the fashion of the Middle Age, it seems to have been assumed that the numbers of books and Scholars should correspond. In the event of there being more books than Scholars, it was provided that the excess should be disposed of in the same way. Books in those days were too precious to be allowed to lie idle on shelves.

Owing to the high price of corn in 1329, each Scholar was to receive 3d. in addition to his statutory allowance of 1s. during the continuance of the high prices—*i.e.*, until corn returned to the average price of 10s. per quarter.

An interesting system of pittances and allowances

was organized. At Christmas and Easter the scholars were to receive 5s. for pittances, and at Whitsuntide 40d. Of the servants and officials, the manciple was to receive a mark, the cook half a mark, the barber 10d., the Dean 10s. An allowance of half a mark was set apart for the annual renewal of linen and necessary utensils. The treasurers and the collector of the Littlemore* tithe were to have 10s. each.

One word more will complete the story of the foundation of our college. The statutes of 1329 were confirmed by the Bishop on February 26, 1330, and by the King (with those of May, 1324) on March 18, of the same year. In order to give the Society its proper outfit it remained desirable to secure for it Papal approval. Accordingly, we find Edward III. writing to the Pope on December 4, 1330, explaining the design of the foundation and asking for Papal confirmation. On June 23, 1331, John XXII. issued four Bulls of confirmation, with some of the contents of which we shall have to deal by-and-by. St. Mary's College was now fully ready for its battle of life.

Its real founder and first Provost did not live to see much of its behaviour in that battle. On June 16, 1332, Adam de Brome passed away. He was laid to rest on the north side of St. Mary's Church, where, in spite of rebuilding, his tomb remains to this day.

* Littlemore, about two miles south-east of Oxford, on the lower London road, is a township, part of which was, until 1847, an outlying portion of St. Mary's parish.

CHAPTER II

ORIEL GROWING (1332-1385)

William de Leverton, 1332-1348; William de Hawkesworth, 1348-1349; William de Daventre, 1349-1373; John de Colyntre, 1373-1385.

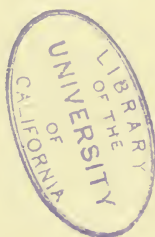
ENOUGH has been said to show the outlines of a medieval college, as distinguished from a cathedral school or a monastic establishment, in Oxford. The reader will realize that it was neither an expression of the general beneficence of a diocese nor a company of monks friendly to learning. It was definitely non-monastic; and it was designed primarily—it may, indeed, be said exclusively—for education, as general and as secular as the ages of faith would admit of. To make the picture complete, it is necessary to contrast the young St. Mary's College, or "King's Hall," as it was often called, with an Oxford or Cambridge college at the present time. In order to do this effectively, it is by no means needful to consider changes in detail, the obvious and inevitable result of changed times and manners. It is enough to realize the one great point of difference, namely that St. Mary's College was a college exclusively of graduates. The



From a photograph by the

[Oxford Camera Club]

THE FRONT QUADRANGLE, WITH TOWER OF MERTON CHAPEL



earliest group of colleges knew nothing of any obligation to conduct a young student through all the stages of his education from matriculation to his Bachelor's degree. The Scholars of Merton or Oriel were, as we should now say, "Bachelor Fellows," men who were still *in statu pupillari* indeed, but whose early education had been provided for by the University in her Schools, and who were now to pursue their studies towards higher issues and the teaching degree. In short, to adopt the modern Oxford jargon, a college such as Oriel in the fourteenth century consisted (as All Souls' College practically still consists) of a "common room" only. The series of changes by which the foundation passed into its modern phase will come before us, each in its due place, as we proceed.

For about a hundred years after the death of its first Provost, the history of the college is one of modest pretensions and of slow but steady growth in property and influence. Adam de Brome, as we saw reason to think, had established the college of St. Mary, as was natural, in the rectory-house of the church, directly opposite the church, on the south side of High Street. This house we may call by its later name of St. Mary Hall. Not far to the westward of St. Mary Hall stood, as we have seen, Tackley's Inn, which had been acquired for the first phase of the college as early as 1324. Tackley's Inn, however, was outside the region henceforward to be the local habitation of the King's Hall, and fell into rank among the pieces of Oxford property which made up the bulk of the college endowment. The locale of the college was a wedge stretching southward from St. Mary's Church to the

church of St. John the Baptist, and forming the eastern boundary of Schidyard Street (now Oriel Street). Of this wedge, St. Mary Hall was then, as it is now, at the northern end; and much of the college history in the fourteenth century consists of the process by which the whole of the wedge passed into the possession of the college.

The southern end of the wedge became college property before any part of the intermediate region, and its acquisition marks a memorable epoch in the college history. In the angle of Schidyard and St. John Streets (now Oriel and Merton Streets) there stood in 1327 a tenement with a peculiar and illustrious history. Originally known as Senescal Hall, it had at some time and for some reason unknown come to be called "La Oriole." After many changes of owners, it passed into the hands of Eleanor of Provence, the wife of Edward I., and she gave it to her chaplain and kinsman, James of Spain. In December, 1327, the messuage was granted to St. Mary's College. On May 16, 1329, James of Spain surrendered to the college his life-interest in "La Oriole."

This transaction, which may have appeared slight at the time, was, in fact, momentous. "La Oriole" occupied part of the space of the present chief quadrangle of the college; and if, as seems likely, the college took up its residence there in 1329, its continuity in space is as marked as its continuity in time. But this is not all. Whatever the expression "La Oriole" may have originally meant, it had an important future before it. In 1349 we find it giving its name to the college; and from the latter date, first

at long and then at shorter intervals, then almost continuously, the mysterious nickname became first regularly woven in the style and titles of the King's Hall or College of St. Mary, and then the common colloquial name of the Society. It is a unique instance in Oxford of so trivial and etymologically uncertain an origin of a college name.

We are, then, to think of the actual college premises as fixed at La Oriole at the death of Adam de Brome. By a gradual process, not completed for nearly two centuries, the rest of the wedge of ground, extending northwards to High Street, was absorbed—first as property, then for lodgings—either by the college itself or by its adjunct St. Mary Hall.

More important to the growth of the little college than its mere local abode was the gradual acquisition of lands and houses in or near Oxford by which the endowments of the Society, none too large at the best, were provided. Much of the early material for the college history is made up of the deeds and other records of purchase or bequest on behalf of the college. To begin with ecclesiastical property, to the advowsons of St. Mary's, in Oxford, and Aberford, in Yorkshire, there was added, in 1327, by Adam de Brome and William de Herlaston that of Coleby, in Lincolnshire, purchased from the Prior and Convent of St. Barbara. It would be idle and wearisome to enumerate all the instances of acquisition of property in the course of the fourteenth century. Adam de Brome, we remember, had bought Perilous Hall as early as 1324. By his will he bequeathed two tenements—Moyes Hall, in Penyferthyng (now Pembroke) Street, and

Baner Hall, in St. Mary Magdalene parish—to Richard de Overton.* Through a succession of assignments, these pieces of property came into the full ownership of Oriel in 1362; and with them came a school in Cat Street, purchased by Richard de Overton in 1333 out of moneys provided by Adam de Brome.

There exists, fortunately, a complete rent-roll of the college, drawn up in 1363-64, perhaps in the handwriting of John de Colyntre, afterwards Provost, from which we can gather a very complete notion of the college property at that date. It falls broadly into two classes—that acquired by the college primarily, and that acquired through St. Bartholomew's Hospital, which came to be a dependency of the college in circumstances with which we shall presently deal. Chief in the former class are the St. Mary Hall and Tackley's Inn, and round each are grouped various shops and tenements in the neighbourhood. In the latter class are some small rents, shops, houses, and gardens in and near Oxford. Of the holdings at a distance from Oxford, which came to the college through the hospital, the most important referred to in the rent-roll was Stowford, in the parish of Stanton St. John. Equally important, though not appearing in this document, was Oriel Wood, in the parish of Boarstall.

The connexion between the college and St. Bartholomew's Hospital is full of interest, and has been the source of many lively chapters in the history of Oriel down to the present day. The hospital was originally one of the marks of Henry I.'s connexion with Oxford and its neighbourhood. According to

* A brother official in the Chancery, and a trusted friend.

tradition, it was built out of the overplus of the expense of the King's palace of Beaumont. It consisted of a chapel and other buildings for lepers, dedicated to St. Bartholomew, and was situated on the southern slope of Headington Hill, about a mile from the east gate of the city. From the Hundred Rolls in the reign of Edward I. we learn that the foundation was a convent of twelve brethren and one chaplain, and that Henry I. had provided for its endowment £23 0s. 5d.,* to be paid by the city of Oxford out of the fee-farm rent. The site of the hospital occupied six acres of land taken out of the manor of Headington. Throughout the twelfth and thirteenth centuries St. Bartholomew's held its ground. It came to own various pieces of land in Cowley and elsewhere, and its existence was confirmed by one King after another. In the time of Edward I., whether through the misbehaviour of the Masters or Chaplain, or through unjust diversion of rents, the hospital was in very low water; and in 1315, early in Edward II.'s reign, an inquisition was held by the Chancellor of the University and others, as a result of which the King reduced the number of brethren from twelve to eight, two hale and six infirm. Each of the eight was to receive 9d. a week salary, to be paid out of the goods of the hospital. On this reduced footing the hospital went on for some time, but in 1321 there occurred one of those terrible outbreaks of prejudice and aversion which in all ages have done so

* This amount is arrived at by estimating the allowance to the thirteen members at 1d. a day each for the year: 1s. 1d. \times 365 = £19 15s. 5d.; and the allowance of clothing at 5s.: 13 \times 5s. = £3 5s. Total, £23 os. 5d.

much to retard the progress of the world. The English people turned against the lepers, and St. Bartholomew's suffered accordingly. With the accession of Edward III. better days came. In 1324 Adam de Brome had been made Warden of the hospital. Edward III., Anthony Wood tells us,

"in the second year of his reign" (the exact date was February 24, 1328), "that he might better consult the administring of government to this house then much decayed therein, and also that he might gratify his scollers of Oriel Hall the use of wholesome air in time of pestilential sickness did *in liberam puram ac perpetuam elemosinam*, wholly grant them this hospitall and whatsoever they had belonging to it in houses, lands, meadows, woods, and other rents and titles to them and their successors for ever."

The Letters Patent recording the grant make mention of the various inconveniences which had resulted from the carelessness and neglect of the Wardens, and of the King's trust in the fidelity, prudence and circumspection of the Provost and Scholars of the House of the Blessed Mary at Oxford.

The interest of St. Bartholomew's, or "Bartlemas," as an addendum to Oriel, lies in its double relation—to the city of Oxford on the one hand, and to the college on the other. The grant to the college in 1328 did not abolish the obligation of the city to contribute towards the support of the almsmen out of its fee-farm rent; and thus a wide door was left open for disputes and recriminations. The obligations of the college under the grant were to provide a chaplain for daily service, and to supply maintenance for eight

almsmen, viz., 9d. a week each, and 5s. a year each for clothing, the maximum number to be kept continually in the hospital. As we shall see, this obligation was strictly observed by the college, to the extent specified in the grant, while, on the other hand, it was exceedingly difficult to tie down the municipal authorities to their share of the burden. The first actual litigation on the subject seems to have occurred in 1390, in consequence of which Richard II. ordered the mayor and bailiffs of Oxford to pay £23 0s. 5d. to Oriel College for the hospital. After this, litigation was frequent down to Tudor times and beyond them.

In 1331 Adam de Brome was formally invested in the Wardenship or Mastership of the hospital by the King. In 1346 we find the King confirming the grant of the hospital, and ordering the tenants to pay their rents to the college. At the same time he ordered the municipal authorities to pay the fee-farm rent to Oriel. More than once in the reign of Edward III. the brethren of the hospital were ordered to obey the college, and in 1367 careful statutes were issued for the governance of the hospital. The two hale brothers were to work under the direction of the Provost and those acting for him, and all the brethren were to confess annually to the chaplain or some other priest appointed for that purpose.

One is tempted to linger on the connexion between St. Bartholomew's and Oriel longer, perhaps, than its importance in the college history strictly requires, because of the picturesque associations which clustered round Bartlemas in medieval times. For some reason the chapel became a centre of peculiar interest, reverence

and resort. It was blessed by the presence of precious relics : the comb of Edward the Confessor, good against headaches ; a piece of the skin of St. Bartholomew himself ; crosses of St. Andrew and St. Philip. Less preternatural blessings were the green fields and the bird-haunted woodlands which stretched around and beyond it, where, as Anthony Wood notes, the overwrought brain of the student could be relaxed, and the limbs of the sick and aged stretched in peace. It was not only the Scholars of Oriel who found strength at Bartlemas. It became a custom for the Scholars and choir of New College, first on the morning of May Day, and afterwards on the morning of Ascension Day, to repair in procession to the chapel, where they said prayers and sang hymns. They then sought a well hard by, known as Strowell or Stockwell (which perhaps survives as a drinking-place for cattle to this day), around which, after the recitation of the Epistle and other religious observances, they relapsed into mere woodland merriment of a semi-pagan kind, until it was time to go back to William of Wykeham's cloisters. In those days the surroundings of the hospital, more than a mile from the city gate, were more rural than they now are. Yet even now, as one suddenly emerges from the long, unlovely brick suburb that straggles Cowley-wards, and turns off the dull highway towards the slope of Headington Hill, a good deal of the peace and sweetness of the pure country steals over one as the outline of the chapel comes in sight. Heavily as the Reformation and other visitations of the modern spirit have told on the place, turning the chapel into an open barn, where fowls may peck and pigs burrow by forgotten graves,

and making cowsheds and stables out of the almsmen's chambers, the buildings are still there to bear witness to the past; and green fields and great elms, not yet victims of the builder, carry on the tradition of a time when restoration of body and soul was sought and found in so happy a retreat.

- During the period of growth in the fourteenth century the personal history of Oriel is for the most part silent. No difficulty seems to have been found in filling Adam de Brome's place. He died on June 16, 1332, and on the 27th William de Leverton was unanimously elected by the Scholars, and duly instituted. During his sixteen years' tenure of office nothing very noteworthy happened. Yet we are reminded that the college was more than a mere holder of property and recipient of rents by an incident of 1337, the first of several, touching a collection of books with which Oriel had been connected under curious circumstances. Thomas of Cobham, Bishop of Worcester, called *par excellence* "the good clerk," was one of the most prominent figures in the two very dissimilar reigns of Edward I. and Edward II. Archdeacon of Lewes, Canon of London, and Precentor of York, he was employed by Edward I. as his trusted agent in various important diplomatic missions. In 1313 he was made Archbishop of Canterbury on Winchelsea's death, but was set aside in favour of Reynolds by Edward II. and Pope Clement V. He was compensated by the gift of the see of Worcester, where he was enthroned in 1319, and where he remained until his death in 1327. During his time at Worcester Bishop Cobham conceived and developed the idea of bequeathing his books to the

University of Oxford. Under his direction a room was built to receive them above the Congregation House on the north side of the chancel of St. Mary's Church.* Adam de Brome was Rector of St. Mary's Church while the building operations were in progress, and he had been a year Provost of St. Mary's College when the good Bishop died. What was to be done about the books? Cobham's plan was to have certain of them chained in the new premises, that there might be free access to them for all members of the University. But the building was not finished when he died: *nec sunt fenestræ vitriatæ nec tabulis clausæ sicut debuerunt fuisse*. Moreover, the Bishop's assets turned out insufficient to meet even his funeral expenses, and the executors were obliged to pawn the books. At this point a great opportunity came to Adam de Brome. The Bishop's bargain with him as Rector of St. Mary's had been very explicit. The Bishop undertook to purchase certain rents and to appropriate them to the Rector and his successors; they on their part to find two chaplains to say mass daily in the building for the repose of the Bishop's soul and for the souls of his friends and all benefactors of the University. The said chaplains were also to act the part of careful librarians, taking charge of the chained volumes, and seeing that no student came in with wet clothes, or marked or cut the manuscripts. In short, the connexion between the library and St. Mary's was very close; and after the Bishop's death his executors, find-

* In this version of the story I follow Wood. The architectural history of the building is discussed by Mr. T. G. Jackson, *The Church of St. Mary the Virgin*, chap. vi.

ing his estate insufficient to satisfy his engagements, not unnaturally offered the books to Adam de Brome for his college, on condition of his redeeming them, and provided the scholars would say the required prayers for the dead. Adam readily agreed to the proposal ; paid £50 of silver for the redemption of the books, and had them housed somewhere in the premises of his college, and was thus able to give to the new Society the nucleus of a library within a year of its foundation. All went smoothly during the remainder of Adam's life, and for some years after William de Leverton's election. But the University could not forget its claim, and in the Long Vacation of 1337, when but few of the Scholars were in residence, Master John de Reigham, the Chancellor's Commissary and a Proctor, came with a large number of Regent Masters and carried off the books by force, easily overpowering the small band of defenders in the college. There is no evidence that Oriel ever recovered possession of the volumes ; but it made every possible effort for more than half a century to keep the University out of Bishop Cobham's building at St. Mary's. In or about 1336 William de Daventre, Leverton's successor in the Provostship, who was then *procurator redituum*, asserted the rights of the college by storing building materials in the chamber ; and even Adam de Brome had provided bars and bolts against the outside world. We shall hear more of the controversy by-and-by.

Besides William de Daventre, William de Hawkesworth became prominent among the Scholars during Leverton's tenure of office. He was Proctor or agent for the college in 1341, and both he and Daventre

seem to have had a good deal of business connected with the college livings, Aberford and Coleby. Hawkesworth and John de Aston, another Fellow, were sent by the college in 1341 to take possession of the church of Aberford; and in the same year John de Aston was instituted as Vicar. In 1346 William de Daventre was appointed to the Vicarage of Coleby, and soon after a dispute as to the advowson arose between the King and the college. The advowsons both of Aberford and Coleby had been secured by a Bull of John XXII. in 1331; and on the death of the incumbent of Coleby in 1346, the Bishop of Lincoln lost no time in reciting the Bull and annexing the living to the college. The King, however, seems to have presented a candidate of his own named Richard de Thoresby, and we find the college petitioning the King to revoke his presentation. The controversy was protracted for some months; the King revoked his presentation in February, 1347, and in April an order was made to supersede the plea between the King and the college. To make all sure, an inquisition concerning the benefice was held in the Church of St. Peter de Arcubus at Lincoln in September.

During all this time the college was neglected neither by the King nor by its special patron the Bishop of Lincoln. In January, 1347, the King exempted Oriel from payment of 100s. of the tenth voted for the King's necessities for two years by the clergy of the province of Canterbury. In September, 1348, two months before the death of Provost Leverton, the Bishop commissioned Geoffrey le Scrop, a Canon of Lincoln, and Robert Trengre, the Warden of Merton, to interpret, if necessary, certain ambiguities alleged to exist in the college

statutes. What those ambiguities may have been there is no evidence to show. It is interesting to notice that the Head of one House was made referee as to the difficulties of another.

After the death of Provost Leverton on November 21, 1348, the college passed through a short spasm of disquiet. William of Hawkesworth, whom we have already encountered (and who was one of the first "Fellows" of the new foundation of Queen's College), was chosen Provost by the Scholars of Oriel; but something was amiss with the form of the election, and was judged to be so by the Bishop of Lincoln, who may have been an excessive constitutional purist. Anyhow, he annulled the election before the end of the year, and appointed Hawkesworth by his own authority. Hawkesworth died on April 8, 1349; but his few months' reign coincides with a characteristic page of medieval Oxford history. Those were the days when the University was divided into the two factions of Northerners and Southerners, who were always ready to show the spirit and often the sanguinary deeds of medieval factions everywhere. There was to be a new Chancellor in 1349. John Wylliot, Scholar of Merton, was candidate of the Southerners, while Provost Hawkesworth was put forward by the North, to which party Oriel consistently adhered. Hawkesworth seems to have been duly appointed; and on March 19, 1349, he went as Chancellor, accompanied by the two Proctors, to St. Mary's Church to attend a mass for the exequies of a benefactor of the University. While the service was proceeding, a formidable rabble of Southerners, led by Wylliot, entered the sacred building, pressed into the choir, interrupted the

mass, and gravely threatened law and order in the persons of Hawkesworth and the Proctors. A good weapon, however, was ready to Hawkesworth's hand. In 1330 there was wont to be much rioting in St. Mary's Church and churchyard; and in the following year, along with the Bull of confirmation of the college, a Bull was procured from John XXII. designed to remedy that abuse. Edward III., in asking for the Bull, had proposed that in case of disturbance the Abbots of Oseney and Rewley should be empowered to interfere. The Pope, however, furnished a more drastic remedy of his own. His Bull absolutely prohibited the holding of any secular traffic within the precincts of the church or churchyard. This Bull, explicit as it was, had never been put into execution; but now, in the great riot of 1349, it was brought out from its seclusion, and solemnly read in the desecrated building by the Provost of Oriel. True, there was now no buying and selling; but the gist of the offence lay not in the traffic but in the concourse of people which resulted from it, in the *congregationes* and *conventiculæ* which the Pope forbade by his apostolic authority. We are not told what was the effect of the recital of the Bull; but, at any rate, the outrage was in no sense smothered over; royal authority supplemented Papal, and Edward III. sent letters instituting an inquiry into the matter.

On Hawkesworth's death, immediately after this his substantial victory, he was buried in St. Mary's. On his grave he was described as 'Magister Willelmus de Hawkesworth sancte pagine quondam Professor et *tertius Præpositus hujus ecclesie*.' The words in italics show the organic union of church and college.

During the vacancy of the Headship, Bishop Gynewell, who, we remember, had appointed Hawkesworth by his own authority, sent a letter which was designed to prevent any irregularity in a new election. The Bishop directed that, in case of a vacancy, the Provostship should be filled up within a month, or (if the vacancy fell in vacation) within a month from the beginning of the first full term following. But if it should seem desirable to the majority of the Scholars (whom we may now and henceforward call the Fellows) to wait for the presence of absent members, they might do so for three weeks; but the election must take place in the last week of the month. The procedure of the election was prescribed in full detail. After the celebration of mass the Fellows were one and all solemnly to swear impartiality, freedom from unworthy motive, and devotion to the interests of the college in their choice of a Head. The oath was to be administered by the Dean, or, in his absence, by the Senior Fellow, and the Dean and the two Senior Fellows were to be scrutineers of the votes. If the Dean was absent the three Senior Fellows were to be scrutineers, the scrutiny being secret; and in that case the vote of each of the three scrutineers was to be taken by a fourth Fellow added for that purpose to the other two, thus keeping up the number three for the scrutiny.

In the course of the summer William de Daventre, the Vicar of Coleby, was elected Provost. During his tenure of office the college increased perceptibly in strength and prominence. The endowments slowly and steadily grew on the regular medieval principle: so much revenue in lands and goods in return for so much

spiritual service in prayers and masses. For example, in 1357 Edward III. gave a licence to Thomas de la Leigh to bestow on the college a chantry in St. Michael's at the South Gate. The property of this chantry consisted of three messuages in High Street, Schidyard Street, and Grope Lane. In return for this benefaction the college was to maintain two priests to celebrate in St. Mary's for the souls of Leigh himself, the King, the Queen, and others.

The "cash-nexus" between things secular and things sacred is illustrated by another transaction four years later, namely, in February, 1361, when, on the final transfer to the college of the properties bequeathed by Adam de Brome and of others purchased by Richard de Overton (see above, p. 20), an indenture was made between the college and William de Daventre providing for the support of a chaplain to have charge of the chapel on the north side of St. Mary's Church, and to pray daily for the souls of Adam de Brome, Robert de Bardelly, and other benefactors. If the endowment, viz., Baner Hall, Moses Hall, a school in Cat Street, and a garden in Schidyard Street, should fall below the value of £5 a year, the college was not to be bound to maintain the chaplain, but only to pray for Adam and Robert among its benefactors.

In 1364 some new statutes were made by the Provost and Fellows, and duly confirmed by the Bishop of Lincoln, John Bokyngham. These added to the commons of the Provost and Fellows, and to the allowances for fuel, kitchen, etc., in accordance with increased resources.

We must return for a moment to the story of Bishop

Cobham's library, or rather (for the books were gone) to that of the chamber built to contain it, about the possession of which the University and the college were in dispute. We remember how Adam de Brome and William de Daventre had claimed and fortified the building against the outside world. In May, 1367, a statute declaring the building University property was discovered in a chest of books and re-enacted; and in accordance with it, William Courtenay, who was appointed Chancellor that year, ordered Oriel to relinquish possession. In November the college petitioned the Bishop of Lincoln to interfere on the ground that the Old Congregation House was essentially an appurtenance of St. Mary's Church. The efforts of the college, however, proved unavailing; the University got possession of the Old Congregation House, and Oriel had to be content with assertion and reassertion of her claim until, as we shall see, the matter was settled by compromise in 1410.

Nevertheless, the college was busy all this time making a library for itself on other lines. Many donations and bequests of books came to it. There is reason to believe that Adam de Brome gave largely. One Thomas Cobildik certainly did. In 1359 one Master Stephen Ketelbergh, in return for an engagement to celebrate certain exequies, including his own, yearly for ever, gave to the college a copy of the *Corpus Juris Civilis*, the *Decretals*, etc. In 1372 Simon de Bredon, a Canon of Chichester and Rector of Bidyngton, left to Oriel by his will part of a large collection of mathematical and astronomical works, besides other books. Provost Daventre bequeathed his

own entire collection. In 1385 William Rede, Bishop of Chichester, left ten books to be firmly chained, and so on.

As early as 1375, ten years after Daventre's death, the Oriel library was large enough to furnish a lengthy catalogue, which, fortunately, has been preserved to our own day. It seems to have been only one of several such, called collectively in a register of college documents made in 1397, "*Rotuli diversi diversorum librorum collatorum Collegio per Adam de Brom, Kylmyngton, Cobildik et alios.*" It is called "*Inventarium librorum domus beate Marie, Oxon,*" and is a characteristic specimen of a medieval catalogue, reflecting the standard of medieval learning.* The books are classified under the heads of Grammar, Logic, Music, Rhetoric, Arithmetic, Geometry, Astronomy, Philosophy, Civil Law, Canon Law, and Theology. The theological MSS., of course, greatly preponderate. Grammar is represented by Priscian and Petrus Helias, and includes a Hebrew alphabet. Aristotle, of course, supplied the logic and philosophy; Justinian the Civil Law; while the theology presented no unusual features. Dr. Shadwell has told us that "it is not certain that any of the volumes mentioned in the list are now in the possession of the college, and only a very few can be traced as existing elsewhere." He suggests as reasons for so complete a disappearance that "some of the volumes became damaged or worn out by use, others were pledged and not redeemed, others were sold or exchanged, and

* This catalogue, edited by Dr. Shadwell, has been printed in vol. v. of the publications of the Oxford Historical Society, *Collectanea*, i. 66-70.

were replaced by new works which changes in the course of study made necessary."

Another evidence of growth which falls within Davenport's tenure of office is the inauguration of a chapel for the young Society. Hitherto the parish church of St. Mary the Virgin, the mother church of the college, the other side of the college itself, had served that purpose; but now the life of the college was strong enough to deserve, and even to require, a separate place for its corporate rites. A licence to celebrate mass was granted by the Bishop of Lincoln on March 22, 1373. In the words of the licence the college was commended for the devotion shown in its desire to attend the offices of the Church, and leave was accordingly given to celebrate mass by fit chaplains in an oratory or chapel, built or to be built within the college. Two conditions were attached to the licence: That the chapel should be decent and seemly, and that no other sacraments of the Church besides mass should be celebrated in it, or anywhere but in St. Mary's, the mother church.

The phraseology of the licence shows that the chapel was not yet completed in 1373. Richard, Earl of Arundel, one of Edward III.'s chief warrior-ministers, who died in 1376, is believed to have been the original donor of the chapel. According to Wood, he had "begun and pretty well carried on" a chapel, "but being not in a capacity to see the work ended, because taken off by civil affairs, his son, Thomas Arundel, Bishop of Ely (sometime a student in this house), finished it and made it complete for use."* At whatever date the completion may have taken place, the

* Gutch (1786), iv. 133.

chapel stood on the south side of the quadrangle opposite to where the gate of Corpus Christi was afterwards built. It may be seen, with its two windows and little cross at each end of the roof, in Neale's drawing made in 1566. On the windows were emblazoned the arms of Fitzalan, Warren, Lancaster, Buckingham, France and England, Beauchamp, Bohun, Maltravers, Thomas Holland, Earl of Kent, Mortimer and Ferrars. Under the southern windows were the two inscriptions:

‘Rex Edwardus Fundator Collegii Beatae Mariæ Oxoniæ,’

and

‘Richardus Comes Arundellia et Thom. Filius Ejus Epus. Eliens. Istam Capellam Construi Fecerunt.’

William de Darentre was succeeded by John de Colyntre, whose Headship lasted until his death in 1385 or 1386. Colyntre was highly esteemed by his contemporaries, and was described at the time of his election as a man full of gifts spiritual and temporal, and well fitted, both by learning and character, to occupy his responsible post.

The number of the Fellows up to this point did not exceed the original ten, nor is there any evidence of the prosecution of higher studies. There is, however, unmistakable evidence that the original plan of the Society, that of a definite number of graduate members, carrying on their studies with the aid of college funds, was during the fourteenth century occasionally modified by the admission of undergraduate members to the benefits of the college without bestowing on them any of its funds.

Such extraneous members became afterwards, as they grew in numbers and importance, differentiated into *commensales* (Fellow - commoners), *communarii* (Commoners), and *servientes* (servitors); but, so far as Oriel is concerned, that differentiation was yet in the far future. The stray undergraduate members of the fourteenth century were all *commensales*—that is to say, they were, during residence, on a parity of privilege and position with the Scholars or Fellows. Their constitutional significance is great; and, for the sake of one of their number, their personal interest is great also. For that one was no less than Thomas Arundel, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, one of England's greatest men in the reign of Richard II. and at the outset of the Lancastrian period—the co-founder, as we have just seen, of the first college chapel. The association with Oriel of Archbishop Arundel, the strenuous defender of orthodoxy, is an instance, thus early in its history, of its reflecting more than one aspect of prevailing thought. For, as we shall presently find, the college which owned Arundel's chapel was about to get fame as a home of heterodoxy.

CHAPTER III

STORMY TIMES (1385-1427)

John de Middleton, 1387-1394; John de Maldon, 1394-1402; John Possell, 1402-1414; William Corffe, 1415-1417; Thomas Leyntwardyn, 1419-1421; Henry Kayle, 1421-1422; Nicholas Herry, 1426-1427

AFTER the death of John de Colyntre, Oriel entered on a period of unrest, which lasted, with intermissions, well on into the next century. This unrest was due partly to internal troubles peculiar to the college itself, and partly to the ferment of opinion in the country generally which characterized the reign of Richard II. and the early part of that of Henry IV. In a word, the college suffered from disputed elections, and from troubles arising out of the thoughts and deeds of the Lollards.

In one difficulty of 1386 we find King Richard II. intervening. A prominent Fellow, Ralph Redruth by name, had been threatened with expulsion on account of his accession to a benefice, although a suit concerning the same was then pending in the Roman Court. Redruth seems to have appealed to the King. It was a good time to do so, for the anti-Roman feeling which

found expression in the Statutes of Premunire was strong at Court. On March 25 Richard issued an order to the college forbidding disturbance of Redruth while the plea was pending.

For the Headship vacant by Provost Colyntre's death there was a stiff fight, in the course of which the King's intervention was again sought and obtained. Five of the Fellows chose Dr. John Middleton, a Canon of Hereford, and four a Master of Arts named Thomas Kirkton. For some reason which does not appear, Kirkton's election, though that of a minority, was confirmed by the Bishop of Lincoln, and an appeal was made by the supporters of Middleton. Meanwhile, on April 18, 1386, the King issued an order for possession of the college to John Landreyn, a Doctor of Divinity, and Ralph Redruth, pending the settlement of the dispute. The dispute was settled by a double process—*i.e.*, partly by the Archbishop of Canterbury, and partly by the Crown. On May 4 the Archbishop commissioned one John Barnet and another to hear Middleton's appeal. On the 23rd the King ordered the Archbishop and others to determine the election. This court decided in favour of Kirkton, and Letters Patent were issued in October to put him in possession of the Provostship. Meanwhile, on November 21, Archbishop Arundel again commissioned Barnet to hear Middleton's appeal. This commission at last turned the scales in favour of Middleton. Early in 1387 the King, still pursuing his separate line, revoked the letters of October 21 in favour of Kirkton, on the ground that Kirkton had resigned his claim before the Chancellor; and on February 26, 1387, the choice of Middleton

was fully confirmed, and an order was sent for his induction.

Provost Middleton died in 1394 at Hereford, and was buried in the cathedral church there. His successor, John of Maldon, was a Scholar of Divinity, a Bachelor of Medicine, and a Master of Arts. His election was without any kind of dispute. The list of Fellows who made it has been preserved. Leyntwardyn was Dean, and is described as "President" in the vacancy of the Provostship, a title seldom used at Oriel, and never except in absence of the Provost. The names of the other Fellows who (except William Navenby, absent) made a college, are not, with two exceptions, interesting to us. We note only the names of Nicholas Herry, M.A., and John Rote, B.A., both of whom we shall encounter again.

Maldon died early in 1402, leaving a will which is a document of some interest. The college seems to have been in debt to him for part of his salary. Twenty-five marks' worth of the debt he released, and the remaining ten marks he also left to buy the advowson of the church of Braddon. If the college should be unwilling to effect this purchase, the ten marks were to be retained by the Society, and distributed according to the following rule: The senior Fellows were to receive double the portion of the juniors; two Fellows in particular, Thomas Leyntwardyn (Provost in 1419) and John Freen, the Vicar of St. Mary's, though juniors, were to take as if they were seniors. All his chests of wood which he had in the garden of the college were left to the college, besides two books—Placentius on medicine, and a text of Aristotle—which had belonged to Filyan. Finally,

his book called *Pupilla Oculi* he left to Leyntwardyn for his life, and afterwards to the college in perpetuity.

Another disputed election followed Maldon's death. John Possell, the Vicar of East Meon, and John Paxton, a former Fellow, both claimed the Provostship. There was an appeal to the Bishop of Lincoln, and, on Paxton's part, one to the Archbishop of Canterbury. On March 9, 1402, the Archbishop appointed a commission to hear the appeal. We have no record of the proceedings, nor of the final result; but it is certain that Possell's election was confirmed, and that he was Provost from 1402-1414. Just before the confirmation he was sharply reprimanded by Arundel for molestation of Leyntwardyn, and for an attempt to remove him from his Fellowship. Possell was spoken of as merely giving himself out for Provost, and was forbidden to do anything to Leyntwardyn's damage. In the same year Possell was similarly summoned to show cause for the expulsion of another Fellow, Mr. Richard Suedesham.

It was during Possell's tenure of the Provostship that Oriel shot into the troubled waters of national controversy. It was the age of Lollardism—Lollardism deprived of the early zeal and evangelical enthusiasm of its first English votaries, and made turbid and dangerous by contact with social and political affairs. John Wiclif, the founder of the new teaching, had been an Oxford man, not only by education, but by long residence and the tenure of high place there; and thus Oxford naturally became and remained a chief centre of Lollardism. After the death of Wiclif the strength of the heresy grew rather than diminished in the University, and the forces of orthodoxy sharpened themselves for conflict

with it. In the early years of the fifteenth century the conflict became very sharp. Orthodoxy occupied the throne in the person of Henry of Lancaster; and in Thomas Arundel, whom we have already learned to associate with Oriel, and who had been the King's Chancellor at intervals since 1386, and Archbishop of Canterbury with an interval since 1396, the King found an able and zealous instrument of his Catholic efforts. The Statute *De Hæretico Comburendo* was passed in 1401, and Sautre, its first victim, was burned soon after. In 1408 Arundel held a Provincial Council, which passed stringent constitutions against the propagation of Wiclif's writings and teachings. A licensing commission was appointed, consisting of members of the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, and the Heads of "Colleges, Halls, and Entries" were ordered to make a monthly inquisition as to whether the constitutions were observed in the Societies under their supervision. There were heavy penalties for recalcitrancy.

These constitutions came into force in 1409, and in Oxford they met with much resistance, led, curiously enough, by Richard Fleming, who became Bishop of Lincoln, and founder of Lincoln College as an expressly anti-Lollard institution. Although, at the instigation of the Convocation of the Province of Canterbury, 267 erroneous propositions were selected from Wiclif's works for condemnation by a committee of Oxford Masters, and although the writings from which they were taken were burned at Carfax, Fleming, who was one of the examiners, kept the flame of Lollardism alive. Arundel resolved to try to extinguish the flame effectually, and held his famous visitation in 1411. It was held in the

church of St. Mary, and Oriel, the college of St. Mary, was much involved in the proceedings and their sequel. Seventeen years previously a quasi-constitutional standing-ground had been given to the Lollards by the action of Pope Boniface IX. The unrest rife in Oxford at the time found one outlet in a movement for exemption from episcopal jurisdiction; and in response to a very largely-signed petition from the University, Boniface IX., in 1395, issued a Bull granting such exemption, and recognising the sole authority of the Chancellor within the University. While this measure strengthened Papal control in Oxford on the one hand, it tended to relax the bonds of effective discipline on the other; and thus it was not without justification that Richard II., through his Chancellor's Court, called on the University to renounce the Bull as a means of encouraging heretics. A formal renunciation was accordingly made; but the Bull remained on the registers, and the spirit which had called it forth remained as a source of protracted division in the University. The Bull itself was not revoked until after Arundel's visitation in 1411.

Of anti-episcopal feeling Oriel was a centre. When Arundel arrived at St. Mary's to hold his visitation, John Byrche and William Symon, Proctors respectively in 1411 and 1412, and both Fellows of Oriel, locked the church doors against him, and, in spite of his interdict, defiantly celebrated high mass. This, indeed, may be reckoned part of the general opposition of the University to Arundel. But Oriel played its own very special part, and was full of anarchy and rebellion. A formal inquiry into the behaviour of the Fellows was afterwards held, with regular charges and

evidence of witnesses, and from the records of this we can form a pretty clear idea of the part played by the college in those stormy times. The ringleaders were the above-mentioned Symon, Robert Dykes, and Thomas Wilton. They were accused of every kind of vulgar brawling in the streets ; of wounding and robbing and (in one instance, at least) of slaying ; of haunting taverns and returning to college sometimes as late as two in the morning, climbing over the walls and bringing in armed outsiders to pass the night in college in clear violation of the statutes. The Provost acknowledged that he had often risen from his bed to let them in just before or just after midnight.

Wilton was charged with having gone to the Provost's chamber one night, called him a liar to his face, and proposed to fight him. On the eve of St. Peter's Day, Possell, on the order of the Chancellor (Courtenay) exhorted the college, and especially the three chief offenders, against such practices ; but the three only turned their efforts against the Chancellor, on whose house they made a violent and murderous assault. So impossible at last was Courtenay's position made by such acts that he was forced to resign office. Dykes and Wilton refused to appear before Arundel's inquisitory court to answer to the charge of heresy.

Dykes incited to many acts of violence in the city.

As for John Byrche, the Proctor, his offences cut deeper into the constitution of the University. He was charged with having insidiously brought forward a motion in the *Magna Congregatio* to deprive of their power the twelve persons elected to examine into Wiclif's writings, and with having obstructively

continued the session into the following day with the view of overpowering opposition. Byrche and his colleagues had also attempted in a *Parva Congregatio* to prosecute Courtenay for dissolving the *Magna Congregatio* by means of an extemporized court of judges of doubtful orthodoxy. He had tried, by captious cross-examination, to overbear the orthodox members of the college, and had led a stout resistance against the collegiate renunciation of Pope Boniface's Bull.

The most interesting Oriel offender was John Rote, the Dean. Alike by the explicit obligation and by the dignity of his office he was bound to be the Provost's right-hand man ; but he had misused his power in the interests of heresy and disorder. Once upon a day, in the hearing of many, he had said openly, with a haughty mien : " Let the Archbishop have a care what he tries to do ; once before he tried to visit the University, and was banished the kingdom for his pains." Such high words could not but work serious mischief among the Fellows. The voice of Leyntwardyn was heard on the other side. " O John," said he, " do you not consider what was the end of those who opposed in that way, and how gloriously he returned ?"

Again and again the Dean had openly talked flat Lollardy. He tried to poison men's minds against Arundel. " I have heard the Archbishop say : ' Do you think that Bishop overseas (meaning thereby the Pope) can give my benefices in England to whomsoever he will ? No, by St. Thomas !' " By this Rote clearly implied that, even as the Archbishop despised Papal authority, so was episcopal and even archiepiscopal authority to be set at nought. And this was the very

essence of Lollardism, which had for its rallying-cry, "*Let us break their bonds asunder and cast away their cords from us.*"

Three hours after Arundel's departure from Oxford Rote came into the college, and with a fierce look said, in the hearing of many: "Why should we suffer interdict in our Church for the misdeeds of others? Truly it shall be said of the Archbishop, *Let the devil go with him and break his neck.*" There is a sense of bathos in passing from such heights of rebellion to the two final charges against the Dean—that he had embezzled part of the college revenues, and failed to secure for Oriel books bequeathed by Provost Maldon and others.

The riots tended to stir up every sort of bad blood. An anti-Wicliffite Fellow of Merton, named Nicholas Pont, gave evidence that he had seen Symon incite Irish scholars to rise against the peace of the University, and instigate them against the Southerners. The relations between the Fellows and the burgesses were made difficult. It was said that many burgesses, hearing of the evil repute of the college, were minded to confiscate its property.

All this was serious indeed; but apparently the disturbances wore themselves out without punishment of any kind to anybody.

Internal dissension, however, reappeared on the next vacancy in the Headship. Possell died in 1414; and the Lollard Dean, John Rote, was one of the candidates. He claimed to have been duly elected, and his election was confirmed by the Bishop of Lincoln on November 17, 1414. But it was questioned by

John Martyll, one of the Fellows, on the ground of insufficient notice. It is significant that an appeal on the question was made to the Roman See. By February, 1415, however, Archbishop Chichele, who succeeded Arundel in 1414, had asserted his primacy in the matter. He summoned the parties before him at Lambeth; and in the Archbishop's presence Rote renounced his claim. William Corffe was then chosen, and his election was confirmed by the Bishop of Lincoln. He was admitted Provost by John Martyll, his proxy, and inducted in the college on March 16, 1415.

Corffe belongs to a wider world than that of Oriel or Oxford by virtue of his being the representative of the University at the Council of Constance, where he probably was at the time of his induction. He remained nominal Head until his death in 1417; but he died at Constance, and it is quite likely that he was never in Oxford after his election. The practical abeyance of the Provostship led to some anarchy at Oriel. Two men, William Brytby and John Bedmystre, complained to the Visitor that they were kept out of the enjoyment of their Fellowships by the rest of the college, and especially by the Dean, in spite of due election according to the statutes, and the Bishop ordered their admission without delay.

During the reigns of the three Provosts who followed Corffe the annals of Oriel are dull. The first was ushered in with one of the now frequent disputes. Two Fellows were candidates, Master Richard Garsdale and Master Thomas Leyntwardyn, with the latter of whom we are now familiar, and the matter was decided by the

Bishop of Lincoln. Garsdale's election was confirmed October 30, 1417, the Bishop having first summoned before him Leyntwardyn and the Fellows who had supported him, namely, Henry Kayle, the Dean; John Martyll, John Brygon, John Carpenter, and Reginald Pecock. This decision, however, was not acquiesced in. Leyntwardyn appealed to the King, and though the later proceedings are not now to be traced, he seems to have succeeded in establishing his right to the Provostship. Garsdale's name does not appear in the college list of Provosts.

John Carpenter, as we shall see, was by-and-by to be one of Oriel's most memorable Heads. One other name of those involved in the extinct controversy yet more deserves mention. Reginald Pecock, one of the Oriel confraternity in 1417, had a remarkable career before him, and turned out one of the most impressive figures in an age of controversy that was ripe for revolution. It is chiefly to him and his writings and his fate that we must look for original knowledge of the privilege and behaviour of the English Church in his age: its privilege in possessing a son with so much controversial acumen, depth of insight, and breadth of interpretation of events; its behaviour in the kind of reception it gave to his message, and the kind of gratitude it showed for his help. Alike by his style of argumentation, the lack of complete courage which made him recant under the pressure of persecution, and his resolute attempt to find some soul of the good or at least of the useful in things heretical, Pecock is a characteristic and invaluable sign of his times. Of Welsh birth, he taught for some time in the Oxford Schools, and then received preferment,

under Court patronage, in London. He soon began to concern himself with the issues raised by the great Lollard controversy; and, after his appointment to the Bishopric of St. Asaph, he preached at St. Paul's Cross in 1447 a sermon in which he defended many characteristics of orthodox churchmen against reforming strictures, and particularly the neglect of preaching by bishops. He was made Bishop of Chichester in 1450. In 1455 his *Repressor of Overmuch Blaming of the Clergy* appeared. This, his chief work, carries out more fully the defence of the Church. It was his *Book of Faith* (1456), in which he first suggested an appeal to reason as of supreme authority in many matters, which suggested to the leaders of orthodoxy that much concern with heresy had made him a heretic. He was passed through various processes of prosecution and persecution; induced to recant as an alternative to being burned alive; and finally died about 1460 at Thorney Abbey, in a retirement which is indistinguishable from imprisonment.

Provost Leyntwardyn died in 1421, when he was succeeded by Henry Kayle, who was Dean, we remember, in 1417. He died in 1422, a few months after his election was confirmed. Between 1422 and 1426 the Headship was in dispute between one Nicholas Herry and another; Herry was confirmed in 1424, but the dispute was not at an end until January, 1426.

While Herry was Provost the intervention of Archbishop Chichele was invoked to bring about the expulsion from the College of two peccant Fellows, John Bedmyster and Robert Morton. The record of the proceedings brings before us the names of the chief Fellows at the

time, and the details of the offences show something of what the standard of behaviour in college was. The college is styled "the Hall or College of the Blessed Mary of Oryell at Oxford." The Dean was John Carpenter, the future Provost; and among the Fellows was Walter Lyhert, afterwards Provost in his turn, and Bishop of Norwich.

Turning to Bedmyster's misdeeds, we find that he had pawned and alienated books belonging to the college library; that he was familiar with night-walkers, and had introduced them into the college; that he had taken his Master's degree without the necessary licence from the college, and, indeed, in defiance of its express prohibition. He had also, it was alleged, frequently violated the dignity of the common meals by the most violent horseplay; had dragged the tablecloth with the things laid on it down to the floor, snatched the food away from the Dean as he sat, and generally behaved like a wild beast or a demented schoolboy. He had contumaciously detained books belonging to the college beyond the period prescribed for their return. Hardly once in the term was he present at Divine service at St. Mary's, while he often was found in taverns at nine or ten at night in the most undesirable company, and slept out of college without being able to give any satisfactory reason for absence. Though the college gate was shut every night at eight, and no one was allowed to pass in after nine, Bedmyster had purloined the key from the President in whose custody it was, and had three times stuffed the lock with stones and bits of stick, so that the key could not be turned. Worse still, he had drawn a knife in controversy with

one of the Fellows, and had several times struck the Dean. Beside such enormities the other charges against him seem slight, *e.g.*, that he had hurried through elections to Fellowships without duly securing the consent of the Society, and had habitually shown a spirit of disobedience to the Provost and the Dean. The upshot of the whole matter was that inasmuch as the said John Bedmyster was proved to have been notoriously unfaithful to his college and a waster of its goods; inasmuch as he was a notorious evil liver and stirrer up of strife, unless he were quickly removed from the college someone would very likely be killed and the college would be ruined. Wherefore, since there was provision for the removal of such malefactors, the college made formal request under seal for the expulsion of Bedmyster.

Very similar were the charges against Morton, though, on the whole, he had kept clear of the graver offences. He had appropriated to his own use the farm and revenue of the church of Aberford to the extent of £20, and £10 worth of the college revenues themselves, and had contumaciously refused to refund. Like Bedmyster, he had borrowed books and failed to restore them, as he was by Statute bound to do at the Feast of All Souls. He had created discord whenever it was possible; for instance, at the disputed election of Leyntwardyn and again at that of Herry; while at a certain election of Fellows he had entered the college like an enemy, bringing with him a band of Bachelors, and had made such an onslaught on the table and its viands, that the law-abiding members could get nothing to eat, and the college was put to great expense. In

spite of all these misdeeds, Morton had the face to ask reimbursement for the expense he had incurred in connexion with the elections of Leyntwardyn and Herry ; and though Carpenter, the Dean, pointed out the preposterousness of such a request from one who had been already worsted in that cause and made to pay the costs of the other side, Morton persisted in his refusal to make restitution of goods. Carpenter there-upon discommuned him ; but Morton snapped his fingers at the penalty, and continued to assert his membership of the Society and his claim to the enjoyment of all its privileges. He also deliberately swore that if any priest refused him the sacrament, he would take care that he should never celebrate mass again. For such offences the college prayed the Archbishop to cause Morton to suffer the fate of Bedmyster. This was on February 18, 1426.

To hear and give judgment on these appeals the Archbishop's Commissioners sat in the college chapel with their assessors, and judgment was duly given against the accused persons. They were declared to be deprived, removed, and expelled from the college and all its benefits for all time to come.

Morton lived long enough to be reconciled to his old college, and is found occupying rooms there in 1454.

CHAPTER IV

FOUR FAMOUS PROVOSTSHIPS (1427-1475)

John Carpenter, 1427-1435 ; Walter Lyhert, 1435-1446 ;
John Hals, 1446-1449 ; Henry Sampson, 1449-1476

THE death of Provost Herry in 1427 coincides with the beginning of a period of further peaceful growth, which greatly added both to the prosperity and educational capacity of Oriel. Between 1427 and 1475 lie the reigns of four Provosts, three of whom were bishops, and one at least was a man of national importance. During those reigns the college received a stream of benefactions which materially altered its character and raised its standing.

John Carpenter, Provost from 1427-1435, was a man of wide experience. He was educated at Oriel, and, as we saw, was Dean in 1425 when the proceedings against Bedmyster were initiated. He was a pluralist, not only in the dubious sense of holding more offices than one, but in the unquestionably good sense of combining with his Oxford experience, experience outside the University. In 1420 he was made Master of St. Anthony's Hospital

and School in London, and that appointment he retained throughout the whole of his official career at Oriel. Nor was St. Anthony's his only link with the metropolis. He acquired in succession the rectories of St. Benet Fink and St. Mary Magdalen in Old Fish Street. It may have been the claims of his London duties which led to his resignation of the Oriel Headship; but he was Chancellor of the University in 1437. In 1443 he was appointed to the see of Worcester.

Carpenter was one of Oriel's most conspicuous benefactors, though his benefactions did not take effect until after his death. Still more substantial gifts even than his, however, reached the college at an earlier date. John Frank, Archdeacon of Suffolk, was one of the lawyer-ecclesiastics with whom the Middle Age was familiar. He was born in Norfolk, and probably at Norwich; and we first hear of him as a Master in Chancery in 1414. He was afterwards Clerk of the Parliament under Henry V., and in 1421 was made Archdeacon of Suffolk. In 1423 he was advanced to the Mastership of the Rolls, which he held until 1438; and in 1433, during the absence at Calais of the Chancellor, Bishop John Stafford, he held the Great Seal for a month. Whatever Frank's connexion with Oriel may have been, it was the object of his special interest. By his will he left £1,000 to the college for the endowment of four Fellowships, on condition of one being supplied from each of the four counties of Dorset, Somerset, Wilts, and Devon. With this money the college, in 1440, bought the manor of Wadley, about two miles north-east of Faringdon in Berkshire, on the Oxford road. This was the first landed estate at a distance from

Oxford which came into the ownership of Oriel. Half a mile or so short of Wadley, the traveller towards Faringdon passes the village of Littleworth. The manor of that name was bought for the College by Bishop John Hals of Lichfield, Provost of Oriel between 1446 and 1449; and thus Oriel became owner of an area of about 2,240 acres in that neighbourhood. This property, her largest estate, she retains at the present time.

Bishop and ex-Provost Carpenter died seised of two manors in Oxfordshire—Dene, in the parish of Spelsbury, about two miles north of Charlbury, on the high ground which forms the northern boundary of the Evenlode valley; and “Chalkeford,” or Chalford, in the parish of Enstone, and between Enstone and Chipping Norton, the two manors being contiguous. He bequeathed both to Oriel for the express purpose of endowing a Fellowship, available for candidates restricted to his own diocese of Worcester.

These donations, adding five to the ten Fellows of the original foundation, necessitated new statutes and confirmations by the Bishop of Lincoln. In January, 1441, a license from King Henry VI. was obtained to add Frank's four Fellowships to the statutory number, and also to found a chantry in the Church of Trent in Somersetshire. In May of the same year there followed, first, a college statute limiting the number of Fellowships to be held at the same time by natives of the same town, city, county, or diocese, and then a statute regulating Frank's Fellowships. The charter of confirmation of the latter, issued by William Alnwick, Bishop of Lincoln, in February, 1446, is extant in print, and reproduces the statute. The four Frank Fellows were, like other

members of the foundation, to be Bachelor graduates; like the others, they were to be admitted after a year of probation. They were to pray for the souls of King Henry VI. and of the benefactor and his parents and executors. The four counties distinguished were to be strictly kept to, unless, indeed, students of the required mental attainments were not thence procurable, in which case the restriction was to be withdrawn; in no case were the four Fellowships to lapse.

One or two other points in the charter deserve notice. In all elections of Fellows, in the absence of the Provost, no election was to be made without his consent. Never at any one time were there to be more than two Fellows from the same township, city, county, or diocese. The annual audit of accounts, and the election of Dean and treasurers, were to be held between Michaelmas and St. Luke's Day. It was also provided that, in case of the Dean's absence for any considerable time, one of the more discreet of the Fellows should be appointed to fill his place. In order to guard against the abuses of pluralism, it was expressly provided that no Fellow, except the Provost, should receive from any source beyond his Fellowship anything beyond the limits of ten marks a year without forfeiting his Fellowship.

One may so far outstep the chronological limits of this chapter as to mention ordinances passed by the college to regulate Bishop Carpenter's benefactions, and confirmed by Bishop William Russell of Lincoln in February, 1483. By these ordinances, in addition to the Fellow from the diocese of Worcester provided by Carpenter, it was directed that one of the original ten should come from the same locality. To emphasize the

compliment to the memory of the Bishop, a chaplain was appointed to celebrate for all time for the souls of Carpenter, of Provost Henry Sampson, and of their parents. If at any time the manor of Dene should be lost to the college, the Fellowship depending on it was to be suppressed; but the college was to continue to keep the anniversary at or about the Feast of the Eleven Thousand Virgins, with a "Placebo" and "Dirige" for Carpenter and other benefactors.

The Worcester Fellowship did not exhaust Carpenter's benevolence to his college. He was the means of extending the educational powers of Oriel by founding six Exhibitions. The endowment of these Exhibitions was a charge on lands which Carpenter held as Master of St. Anthony's Hospital, the charge continuing as an obligation on the Master and Brethren of the Hospital until the estate passed into the hands of the Dean and Chapter of Windsor. The exhibitioners represent a new class of members of the College—the *servientes* or *batellarii*—distinct from the Fellows (*scholares*) on the one hand, and the *commensales* on the other. They combined a certain amount of menial work with the pursuit of their studies, and were supported by battels, or doles, at the expense of the college. In the case of Carpenter's, or, as they were often called, St. Anthony's, Exhibitioners, the connexion with the college was very slight. For a long time they were lodged, not in Oriel itself, but in St. Mary Hall, which, as we saw, was originally the parsonage house of St. Mary's Church. Down to 1592 the Oriel Exhibitioners had to promise obedience to the Principal of St. Mary Hall, as well as to the Provost of Oriel. Each received 8d. a week.

They were, as Dr. Shadwell has pointed out, variously nominated.

Bishop Carpenter's successor in the Provostship was a man of very considerable note in his day. Walter Lyhert, or Lyart, was elected on June 1, 1436. He was born either at Norwich or in Cornwall, and became a Fellow of Exeter, which he afterwards quitted for Oriel. Contemporaneously with his Oxford Fellowships, he held livings in Essex. Little record survives of his connexion with Oriel; it was on his leaving it in 1446 for the bishopric of Norwich that he became famous. He was a prominent figure in the Norwich and Norfolk of his day. He was a benefactor of the secular clergy, and a generous restorer of his cathedral church, of which the roof of the nave and the screen remain to bear witness to his munificence, if not wholly to his taste. He died in 1472, and was buried in the cathedral.

One of his functions was the Mastership of St. Anthony's Hospital; and he seems to have joined with Bishop Carpenter in founding the St. Anthony's Exhibitions.

Lyhert resigned on February 28, 1446, the college having more than a month earlier asked the Bishop of Lincoln, still William Alnwick, to make John Hals or Halse, a probationer Fellow who had resided many years in the college, eligible for election as Provost in his room. The Bishop gave permission; on February 28 Lyhert resigned; and on March 18 the Bishop accepted his resignation. Hals was elected on March 24. Nothing of importance, either in the *personnel* or constitution of the college, seems to have taken place during his reign of three years.

In the lists of unimportant names which occupy the annals at this time, one name occurs over which we ought to pause. On February 8, 1449, shortly before the resignation of Provost Hals on his appointment to the see of Lichfield and Coventry, an order was made by the college granting to Dr. Thomas Gascoigne "his chamber in the College rent free."

Thomas Gascoigne, like his fellow-*Orielensis* Reginald Pecock, is one of the very few English writers and thinkers who stand out among the aimless and brutal activities of the fifteenth century. Born in 1403 at Hunslet, near Leeds, he came to Oxford; and as he had a lifelong connexion with Oriel, it seems reasonable to suppose that he was educated there. If so, it must have been like Arundel as a *commensalis*, for his means were too considerable to allow of his being a Fellow. In any case he made Oriel his place of residence throughout the greater part of a prominent Oxford career, renting his room there until the college, nine years before his death in 1458, fittingly recognised the presence within it of so eminent an inmate by giving quarters gratis. Gascoigne played many parts both ecclesiastical and academic. He had a living in Yorkshire, was for a short time incumbent of St. Peter's-in-Cornhill in London, and in 1449 received a prebend at Wells. In Oxford he was in great request; was often Chancellor, Vice-Chancellor and *Cancellarius Natus*, or senior Doctor of Divinity acting as Chancellor during vacancies. Naturally, in an age of abuses and tentative reforms, he was an active controversialist. Like Pecock, he took up the cause of orthodoxy against Lollard attacks, but, unlike Pecock—to whom, indeed, he went into definite opposition—he was a strong advocate of

preaching, even for bishops. He himself was a noted preacher. In 1436 he preached a famous sermon before the University on the Sacraments, Scripture, and the King's prerogatives, against Wicliffite errors. Twenty years later he preached at St. Frydeswyde's on the occasion of the deliverance of Belgrade. His chief literary monument is the *Liber Veritatum* or *Dictionarium Theologicum*, a compendium, in alphabetical order, of short deliverances on theological and ecclesiastical subjects, written between 1434 and 1457. Of this the complete manuscript exists in the library of Lincoln College, and a volume of extracts from it, with a long historical introduction, was published in 1881 by the late Professor Thorold Rogers. Apart from the historic interest of its argumentation, which, with that of Pecock's *Repressor*, gives a fairly complete sample of the strength of English thought at the time, Gascoigne's *Dictionarium* abounds in criticism of persons and things both in Oxford and beyond it, which makes it an authority of real value.

Another notable member of Oriel in the reign of Henry VI. was Richard Praty, Bishop of Chichester, whom Gascoigne praises for his resistance to Papal absolution in a case of ecclesiastical discipline.

Hals resigned the Provostship on March 4, 1449. His successor was Henry Sampson. Sampson had been a Fellow of Oriel for many years. He appears as Principal of St. Mary Hall in 1438. He had also, two years before his appointment as Provost of Oriel, been associated with one of those great developments which make the fifteenth century, in spite of its social and political aridity and chaos, a grandly for-

mative epoch in University life. Not only did the period of which this chapter treats witness at Oxford the great collegiate foundations of Lincoln, All Souls, and Magdalen, but also the final flowering—or one should, perhaps, rather say the full fruition—of the medieval University system. It was at this time that the congeries of Schools on the way northwards along the Via Scholastica was remodelled and rebuilt; that enrolment in a college or Hall, except in certain specified cases, became more and more essential to matriculation in the University; and that the medieval curriculum of study was most fully organized. Above all, it was just beyond the limits of Sampson's tenure of office that the finishing touch was put to the central part of that great building in which the University rears itself high above all artificial distinctions of medieval and modern, and realizes in stone that unity of thought and of history which belongs to eternity rather than to time. Between 1427 and 1480 the Divinity School and Duke Humfrey's Library above it were designed and built, in accordance with the wishes, and endowed by the generosity, of many benefactors. Conspicuous among these was Cardinal Beaufort, whose executors in 1447 appointed twelve Commissioners to "devise means for the erection of new schools." Of those Commissioners Henry Sampson, Principal of St. Mary Hall and soon to be Provost of Oriel, was one. It was only fitting that he should be; for it ought never to be forgotten that Oriel was the House or Hall of the Blessed Mary, and the Rector of that Church of St. Mary, which hitherto had been the very pulse of the academic machine, the church which, as it has been expressively put by the Hon.

G. C. Brodrick, the present Warden of Merton, "contained the Old Congregation House, in which the University held all its solemn meetings, and which in the Middle Ages had served at once as the court-house, the legislation chamber, the examination room, the public treasury, the hall of assembly, and the place of worship, for the whole University."

Sampson's reign lasted until his resignation in 1476. As the result of the various benefactions of the century, the college was so firmly settled both as to its premises, its property, and its income that this chapter may well be concluded with a short connected sketch of these as they stood at the conventional close of the Middle Age.

We remember how the premises of the college were gradually formed by the acquisition—lasting over more than a hundred years—of the wedge extending northwards from the very early nucleus of "La Oriole," at the angle of St. John and Schidyrd Streets to (and including) St. Mary's Hall. The eastern boundary of this wedge was the street called Grope Lane (now called Grove Street). The principal entrance to "La Oriole" was pretty much where the Oriel gate now is; but there were large gates, forming probably a back entrance, opening on Grope Lane. If, following a topographical rather than a chronological sequence, we go northwards along Schidyrd Street (Oriel Street), we find immediately to the north of "La Oriole" a "toft" and messuage known as "Aungevyn's," because it was in 1303 granted to one Ralph Aungevyn, of Holecote, and his wife and heirs. In 1333 this messuage was purchased by Richard de Overton, and in 1345 was trans-

ferred by him to William de Daventre, afterwards Provost. In 1361 William de Daventre made it over to the college under a licence in mortmain. This Aungevyn's toft was described as being in the college garden and adjoining the chapel.

Next to Aungevyn's came "Wyght's," so called as originally belonging to one Simon Wyght. In 1340 this messuage became the property of the Chantry of St. Mary in the Church of St. Michael, Southgate, on the gift of Thomas de Legh and Joan his wife; and in 1357 the advowson of the chantry and Wyght's messuage were appropriated to Oriel.

Still farther to the north, on the way to High Street, were, in order, "Bokbynder's," "Spaldyng's," and "Stodele's."

Bokbynder's was acquired by Middleton, afterwards Provost, and another in 1364, and made over to the college in 1392. Similarly Spaldyng's was bought in 1362 by John de Colyntre and others, and bestowed by them on the college in 1376. Stodele's, described in 1347 as a tenement with shops, chambers, and appurtenances, came into the hands of Colyntre and others in the same year as Spaldyng's (1362), and, like Spaldyng's, was granted to the college with its gardens in 1376.

Three more tenements in Schidyrd Street remain to be mentioned before we reach St. Mary's Hall. First, "Magna Scola." This, as well as the adjoining "Stylynton's," seems to have been made over to Oriel by John of Colyntre in 1376. Magna Scola, Stylynton's, Spaldyng's, and Stodele's seem at this time to have been reckoned as garden ground.

Between Stylynton's and St. Mary's Hall lay Bedel Hall. This messuage, with its appurtenances, was in 1297 acquired from Richard le Bedel by the poor scholars of the University of Oxford. For more than a century after the foundation of Oriel it remained outside the college premises—an alien wedge between Stylynton's and St. Mary Hall. In 1452 it was sold by the University to Bishop Carpenter, and almost immediately after granted by him to Oriel, early in Sampson's reign.

We must now glance at the tenements to the east of those already mentioned, those, namely, fronting on Grope Lane, of which there were several.

If we set out from St. Mary Hall to go southward along Grope Lane, we come first to the property of the Chantry of St. Thomas in St. Mary's Church. This consisted of a toft between Bedel Hall and Grope Lane, and was granted by certain brethren of the Chantry to Oriel in 1392.

Adjoining this toft was the eastern end of Stylynton's, which extended eastward to Grope Lane. Then came a tenement of the Prior and Convent of St. Frydeswyde, and next to it a toft called "Tymberhouse," acquired in 1363 by John de Middleton and others, and given by him in 1392 to the college. Behind Tymberhouse and reaching back to the tenements fronting on Schidyard Street was a holding known as "Elias Pykard's"; and to the southward of Tymberhouse, and between it and the great gate of "La Oriole," was a shop with a solar known as "Hore's." Early in the fourteenth century this became the property of the Leigh Chantry in St. Michael's, Southgate, and it passed



From a photograph by the

Oxford Camera Club

THE BACK QUADRANGLE, SHOWING THE LIBRARY AND ROBINSON'S AND CARTER'S BUILDINGS



with the other endowments of that chantry to Oriel in 1357.

Between the great gate and St. John's Street lay St. Martin's Hall. This messuage was the property of the Convent of St. Frydeswyde. Lying as it did to the east of the college library, and rounding off the college premises, its acquisition by the college was certainly desirable. We find, accordingly, that in 1503 it was granted on perpetual lease to the Provost (then Thomas Cornish) "and the Scholars of the King's College called Oriall"; and the grant was renewed in the Provostship of Edmund Wylsford in 1510.

We now have the picture complete of the medieval premises of our college. It is evident that by the beginning of the sixteenth century these premises included the whole of the site of the present college; and that, with one or two exceptions, the whole of this property was acquired in the fourteenth century. It will not be supposed, however, that this space was covered by building. The essential college premises had their nucleus in the original "La Oriole"; there were the chapel, hall, and library; there were the Provost's and Fellows' chambers. The tenements and tofts stretching towards St. Mary Hall were for the most part used as garden-ground—buildings standing on it being removed when it was necessary. "La Oriole," of course, was but a nucleus and starting-point. In the course of the first two centuries of the college life, buildings, some of wood, some of stone, were added to it, until at last a quadrangle was formed which *was* the college until the rebuilding in the seventeenth century, and which may be seen in Neale's drawing of 1566. Arundel's

chapel, on the south-side of the quadrangle, opposite the gate of Corpus Christi College, has already been described. A library, to house the growing collection of books which had hitherto been kept in chests, was built on the east side of the quadrangle in 1444, partly, according to Anthony Wood, at the cost of Gascoigne. This erection supplemented the episode of Bishop Cobham's library, which the reader remembers in more than one of its phases. In 1410 Archbishop Arundel had arbitrated between the college and the University as to the ownership of the Old Congregation House, deciding in favour of the University. Oriel had patiently acquiesced and kept its books in chests until—may we say?—Gascoigne's liberality finally relieved its embarrassment and saved its self-respect. The hall of the college stood on the north side of the quadrangle. So housed and equipped dwelt the College of Scholars of the House or Hall of the Blessed Mary at Oxford.

It is not needful to add much to what has been already said of the college property scattered over Oxford, as that received no very substantial addition since we summed it up in the middle of the fourteenth century.

The churches belonging to the college were three only: St. Mary's, Oxford; Coleby in Lincolnshire; and Aberford in Yorkshire.

The estates at a distance from Oxford have been already mentioned; they were (in Berkshire) Littleworth and Wadley; in Oxfordshire, Dene and Chalford.

In this century the chronicler of the college begins

to have the advantage of a continuous series of treasurers' accounts. The first set which has reached us extends from 1409 to 1415; the second series in the form continuously followed to the present day, and called "the Style," begins in 1450. From the first we learn that from Oxford property the college had a yearly rental of about £53; from its benefices about £35; from the offertory at St. Mary's about £28. The net income, after necessary deductions, was between £80 and £90. About half of this sum was spent on the maintenance ("commons") of the Provost and Fellows, as well as that of servants, workmen, and others ("battels"), and on *excrementiæ* or extras of various kinds; the other half went in stipends, wages, and cost of maintaining the buildings.

CHAPTER V

THE SIXTEENTH AND SEVENTEENTH CENTURIES (1475-1691)

Thomas Hawkyns, 1476-1479; John Taylor, 1479-1492; Thomas Cornysh, 1493-1507; Edmund Wylsford, 1507-1516; James More, 1516-1530; Thomas Ware, 1530-1538; Henry Mynne, 1538-1540; William Haynes, 1540-1550; John Smyth, 1550-1565; Roger Marbeck, 1565-1566; John Belly, 1566-1574; Anthony Blencowe, 1574-1618; William Lewis, 1618-1621; John Tolson, 1621-1644; John Saunders, 1644-1653; Robert Say, 1653-1691.

BETWEEN the resignation of Provost Sampson in 1475 and the accession of King Henry VIII., three Provosts ruled over Oriel—Thomas Hawkyns, who had been Archdeacon of Worcester (1476-1479); John Taylor (1479-1492); and Thomas Cornysh (1493-1507). Only the names of those men have escaped oblivion; and the period of their rule is typical of that region of calms and uncertain currents which lies between medieval and modern history, a region which extended itself, so far as Oxford was concerned, well into the sixteenth century. It was not, indeed, until Leicester's Chancellorship, in

the reign of Elizabeth, that the modern period of University history can be said to have begun at Oxford. Between 1480 and 1571 the intellectual movement of the age was felt in the colleges rather than in the University ; it was the period of the last of the pre-Reformation foundations, Brasenose ; of the distinctively Renaissance foundation of Corpus Christi ; of Trinity and St. John's after the shock of the Reformation had come ; of the Elizabethan Jesus ; and of that august and unique foundation of Christ Church which, more perhaps than any other Oxford institution, embodies that indescribable spirit, neither Catholic, nor Protestant, nor Anglican, which we associate with the name of Henry VIII.

Other colleges, both old and new, felt the Renaissance more manifestly than Oriel, whose lot it has been, down at least to the present century, to stand somewhat apart from louder changes. Through the beginning of the Tudor period the college went quietly on its way, losing nothing of what it had gained, and gradually accommodating itself to new thoughts and ways. During Cornysh's tenure of office the tale of college endowments and Fellowships was satisfactorily continued by a benefactor whose chief title to fame has no connexion with Oriel. William Smyth, bishop, first of Lichfield and Coventry, and then, after 1495, of Lincoln, was Chancellor of the University from 1500 to 1503, and one of the two founders of Brasenose. He was a conspicuous benefactor of Lincoln College, and he remembered also his responsibilities to Oriel. In 1504 the manor of Shenington, about seven miles north-west of Banbury, near the Warwickshire border, and

not far from the historic ground of Edge Hill, was bought for the college with funds to which the Bishop was a contributor. This addition to the college endowments was signalized by ordinances which the Bishop, as Visitor, confirmed in November, 1504. In consideration of this additional property the Provost and fifteen Senior Fellows were to have an allowance of five virgates of cloth each* every other year; the Provost, in consideration of the growth of his labours since the foundation of the college, was, in addition to his stipend of ten marks a year, to have his commons "like one of the Fellows," according to his residence in college; while the Dean was to have 20s. a year, and each of the treasurers 13s. 4d. instead of the 10s. and 5s. provided for them respectively by the statutes.

In addition to his increase of stipend the Dean was to be allowed 6s. 8d. for keeping the Register of the College. This Register, which has been kept ever since, and for which and its contents the Dean has always been responsible, dates its beginning from this year. It is, of course, of great value as an authority, but its value would have been greater if its ideal had been more completely realized. It was intended to be a record of all the acts and decrees of the college in its corporate capacity (*omnia acta et decreta, per Præpositum et scolares capitulariter facta*); but, as a matter of fact, the entries in the register have been confined to the most formal corporate acts of the Society.

Bishop Smyth's contribution towards the purchase of Shenington, a sum of £300, was treated as the endowment of a new Fellowship in addition to the new ones

* These are regularly supplied to this day.

founded in the preceding century by Frank and Carpenter. The ordinance establishing this foundation was confirmed in May, 1507. It provides that the Fellowship shall be confined to the Lincoln diocese. Four marks a year were to be paid to a chaplain to say mass perpetually for the soul of the Bishop, while, at his annual exequies, the Provost and each Fellow present were to have respectively 20d. and 10d.

At this point, then, the number of Fellows of Oriel stood at sixteen, instead of the ten of the original foundation. It was not very long before the full number was made up. Dr. Richard Dudley was a Fellow of Oriel and was Principal of St. Mary Hall in 1502. He owned the manor of Swainswick, near Bath; and in 1525 he made it over, with the advowson attached to it, to Oriel, expressly for the maintenance of two Fellows. In 1529 he followed the example of Carpenter by founding six Exhibitions. These Exhibitions were henceforward known as the Dudley Exhibitions, Bishop Carpenter's being called, generally but by no means invariably, the St. Anthony's Exhibitions, from the source of their endowment. The Dudley Exhibitioners were as slightly connected with the college as Carpenter's beneficiaries; and, like them, were mostly housed in St. Mary Hall. Between 1544 and 1655, when the Dudley family, belonging to Cumberland and Westmorland, died out, four of the Exhibitioners were appointed by the college and two nominated by the Dudley family. The Dudley nominees were generally members of Queen's College. After 1655 the college nominated the whole. Each of the St. Anthony and Dudley Exhibitioners received 8d. a week.

We shall realize how, as the fifteenth century proceeded, the college numbers were gradually reinforced by the admission of *communarii*, or commoners, *i.e.*, paying *extranei*, who might or might not be *commensales*, and who resorted to the colleges for education and for that connexion with a college, which had been made essential for membership of the University. This reinforcement, which gives to colleges at Oxford and Cambridge their most striking feature at the present time, Oriel shared with its neighbours. What was peculiar to Oriel and needs frequent emphasis was the special line of development followed by the foundation proper, *i.e.*, the Society of *Scholares*, or Fellows, making up the college and supported by its endowments. In other colleges a tendency was at work from which Oriel was remarkably free. Elsewhere at Oxford, and still more strikingly at Cambridge, the tendency was for the Fellows to train and endow younger members to supply vacancies in their ranks. In other words, the tendency was to introduce a class of *Scholastici*, or Scholars in the modern sense of the word, who should in time become *Scholares*, or Fellows. A kindred tendency was that of benefactors to restrict Fellowships to particular dioceses or districts. Both tendencies had the same result: they made the colleges self-involved and exclusive; they made it possible, if not easy, for the standard of intellectual attainment to be lowered; they made the colleges less fairly representative of the University than they would otherwise have been.

At Oriel, on the other hand, both tendencies were remarkably weak. Only for a very brief period in the sixteenth century is there any appearance of *Scholastici*

under training to be *Scholares*, of Scholars, as we should now say, for whom Fellowships were waiting. On the whole, it is literally true to say that Scholars, resembling the Scholars of other colleges, the demies of Magdalen and the postmasters of Merton, were unknown at Oriel until the thirties of the nineteenth century; the Exhibitioners, in spite of their stipendiary position, being too insignificant to be classed as such. From the exclusiveness attendant on close, or in any way restricted, Fellowships, the college was also singularly free. The ten Fellowships of the original foundation were without restriction, although one had in the fifteenth century been appropriated to the diocese of Worcester out of compliment to Bishop Carpenter. Frank's four Fellowships were confined, as we saw, to the counties of Wilts, Somerset, Dorset, and Devon; Bishop Carpenter's and Bishop Smyth's to the dioceses of Worcester and Lincoln respectively. Still, at the most, the restricted Fellowships were never more than seven, while the open ones were eleven. Oriel was thus able to keep on reinforcing itself from time to time with the best intelligence which the University could furnish; and it was chiefly this power, enjoyed continuously since its foundation, which enabled it, under the changed conditions of the nineteenth century, to become that nursery of eminent men and movements which it was in our grandfathers' days.

The dangers to Oriel's virginal purity in these respects are illustrated by various incidents in the sixteenth century. Bishop Atwater, of Lincoln, in the course of his Visitation of the college in 1520, had to deal with a serious mischief. Thomas Stock, one of

the Fellows, had actually resigned in favour of one John Throckmorton, expressly and entirely on condition of Throckmorton's election. Had such doings been permitted, there would evidently soon have been an end to open Fellowships at Oriel. The Visitor would have none of it. "Hoc potest trahi in exemplum perniciosum. Ita quod in posterum socii resignabunt loca sua quibus voluerint. Dominus injunxit ne deinceps aliquis talia faceret in electionibus ibidem."*

The brief apparition of Scholars at Oriel spoken of above—the exception which proves the rule—seems to have been confined to the years between 1534 and 1560. During this period we find many entries of *Scholastici* selected for special privilege and prospect. In 1550 four Scholars were elected on the express terms that after their degree they should be admitted probationer Fellows if it should seem expedient to the Society. In 1554 there were elected three Scholars—John Herneman, John Belly (afterwards Provost), and Thomas Sharley—who swore not to remove to any other college without the Society's consent. The irregularity of such elections is exemplified in 1560 by the necessity of getting permission for them from the Visitor. The Bishop of Lincoln in June, 1560, gave dispensation to one Robert Ryng—"postea assumendus in perpetuitatem Collegii"—and

* Atwater's injunctions call attention to other abuses. Three Fellows, Schope, Knyghtley, and Slade, had failed *servare disputationes*, as by oath they were bound to do. An election had been made uncanonically. Finally, Mr. Walter Maye had practised "judiciary astronomy" contrary to the Statutes, which prescribed that all the Fellows should be theological. Henceforward judiciary astronomy might be studied but not practised.

the dispensation was extended to two others. Why a practice which so easily took root elsewhere never flourished at Oriel it is difficult to explain. Fellowships were, of course, sometimes vacated for various reasons. Sometimes such cases led to negotiation. Take the case of John Knyghtley in 1522. Knyghtley resigned his Fellowship ostensibly on the ground of having taken a living, though indications are not wanting that his behaviour as Fellow had been such as to make his resignation desirable. Nothing could exceed the affection to the Society breathed by the terms of his resignation. The college accepted the resignation, but postponed Knyghtley's deprivation of commons and rooms, first until after Easter, on condition of his not standing in the way of the appointment of any other Fellow to the Proctorship, and then until the end of the year (the resignation having taken place in March). The only other conditions of the ex-Fellow's enjoying this favour were that he should live without scandal, and apply himself to study, and that he should not bring dogs into college.

As for the fee-paying *extranei*, whether *commensales* or *communarii*, the Register shows that it was not until the date of Leicester's Chancellorship that they began to come in with anything like a rush. But it is very interesting to mark their early and occasional and increasingly frequent appearances early in the sixteenth century. In 1513 five *commensales* are entered in the accounts as receiving at the rate of 16d. a week—the same rate as that of the Fellows. In 1518 Richard Maudley, in the same year Archdeacon of Leicester, was allowed to have a chamber in that Martin Hall,

which, as we saw, was the latest addition to the college premises, and to be

“Communarius nobiscum et habere libertates quas solebant extranei communarii habere solvendo pro camera et communiis ut decet; et concessum est eidem quatenus possit audire disputationes nostras in Collegio prestito prius juramento ad secreta domus celanda.”

Maudley was already a Master of Arts, and so was William Parkhouse, Fellow of Exeter and Principal of Hart Hall, who was admitted to the same kind of extraneous membership in the following year. Indeed, undergraduate *communarii* and *commensales* seem to have been as yet unknown at Oriel.

Of the Provosts whose names are at the beginning of this chapter, one, Thomas Cornysh, who resigned two years before the accession of Henry VIII., deserves a word of special mention. He seems to have been a Somerset man by birth, and was certainly, save for his connexion with Oriel, a Somerset man by all his other associations. He was a Fellow of Oriel, became Vicar of Banwell in Wells diocese, and in 1483 Master of St. John's House or Hospital in Wells itself. In 1493 he was made suffragan to Bishop Fox of Bath and Wells, holding the title of “Episcopus Tynensis”—Bishop of Tyne. The same year he was elected Provost of Oriel, holding concurrently not only his office of suffragan, but a living in Wells. In 1507 he resigned the Provostship and dedicated himself to Somerset for the rest of his days, where he died, and was buried in Wells Cathedral.

Was Alexander Barclay, the author of the English

version of the *Narrenschiff*, ever at Oriel? If so, the college owns a very important figure in British literature, a figure recalling in some respects that of the author of *Piers Plowman*, who has been absurdly claimed as a son of Oriel. Research, which has only established the strong probability that Barclay was a Scotsman, has not yet discovered whether he was educated at Oxford or at Cambridge. The reader will accept or reject Anthony Wood in placing him at Oriel according to his prepossessions. But, in any case, the author of the *Shyp of Folyes* falls to be mentioned here because of his undeniable relation to Bishop Cornysh, the Provost of Oriel. When the *Shyp* appeared in 1509 it bore a dedication to Cornysh, which, if in any way correspondent with facts, is sufficient testimony to the illustrious merits of that particular Head of Oriel. How Barclay came to know Cornysh, unless as Head of his college, the dedication does not inform us. The *Shyp* was published two years after Cornysh left Oxford. It was to him, apparently, that Barclay owed his subsequent clerical promotion, becoming first a priest in the College of Ottery St. Mary in Devonshire and afterwards the incumbent of several benefices elsewhere.

Cornysh's successor in the Provostship was Edmund Wylsford, who held office from 1507 to 1516. Concerning him the college annals are for the most part silent. But he played a leading part in the University, being the first Margaret Professor of Divinity, and several times Vice-Chancellor. In the year of Wylsford's election, and in some years afterwards, the name of Dr. John Roper occurs in con-

nexion—though but a slight and fleeting connexion—with Oriel. Roper was one of the Oxford representatives of the Renaissance movement. He was a Fellow of Magdalen, and succeeded Grocyn as Divinity Reader there. Afterwards, in 1502, he was made the second Professor of Divinity in the University, on the foundation of Margaret, Countess of Richmond, the mother of Henry VII. He was twice Vice-Chancellor, and Canon of Wolsey's and Henry VIII.'s college, soon to be known as Christ Church, in 1532. But besides having these important ties to Oxford, he was connected with Oriel through St. Mary's, of which he was made Vicar in 1483, and of which he died Vicar in 1534. It was probably as Vicar of St. Mary's, rather than as being a graduate *commensalis*, that Roper was entered as renting a room at Oriel between 1507 and 1512.

In the first quarter of the sixteenth century the plague raged intermittently in Oxford, and it left many traces in college records. From Oriel there were frequent migrations to purer country air, to the leafy retreat at Bartlemas, to the uplands at Dene, and elsewhere. These migrations necessitated some financial regulations. Thus, in 1513, Fellows driven to Dene by the pestilence were allowed 16d. for their commons at a farm there, and a grant was extended a few days later to those at Bartlemas and Witney. Similar rules were made afterwards from time to time.

If we reckon the English Reformation proper to have begun in 1529, the first Reformation Provost of Oriel was James More (1516-1530), while the Provost who held office during the actual shock of the change was

his successor, Thomas Ware (1530-1538). It was while Ware was Provost that the famous Royal Commission of 1534 did its work in Oxford. In 1531, just after Ware's election, the then Bishop of Lincoln, Longland, visited the college and issued a set of Injunctions which throw a little light on its condition.

Several matters, the Bishop asserted, needed reformation and correction. The studies of the college were languishing through the absence of the Provost, who was enjoined to stick to his post and look after things diligently. The Bachelors were to observe carefully the rules for the use of the library at night, to refrain from introducing outsiders into their sleeping-places, and to maintain the old-fashioned modesty, reverence, and humility towards those set over them, on pain of forfeiting their commons for three days. No Fellow was to hold any cure of souls during his Fellowship on pain of the loss of a month's commons for every week spent in such work.

The financial rules of the college were restated and enforced with an emphasis which seems to imply that the Visitor had detected signs of laxity. The two treasurers were always to act together in their dealings with receipts and expenditure; and the ancient custom of having three *pedes* at each audit, one to be kept by the Provost or the Dean and the other two by the treasurers, was to be carefully observed.

The Fellows were to be under strict obligations of residence. Not even the Masters were at liberty to go to see their parents without special leave from the Provost or Dean; and even in vacation the permitted length of absence to Masters and Bachelors alike was

not to exceed sixty days, except for reasons recognised as sufficient by the Provost, the Dean, and the two Senior Fellows.

The title of the college to the estate called Oriel Wood (about twenty acres of woodland over the Bucks border in the parish of Boarstall, and not far to the westward of Brill), which had been carelessly lost, was to be carefully and effectually reasserted.

As to the college studies, the Bishop had found that the disputations were apt to fail of satisfactory solution through the defect by the Provost, and Dean, and senior Masters. These were accordingly commanded in future to take an active part in the prescribed exercises, so that the disputations might be creditably carried through. The existence of the New Learning was not ignored, though its claims were somewhat grudgingly recognized. The Bachelor Fellows were exhorted to postpone the new learning (*recentiores litteras*), the Latin language and works of poetry (*opera poetica*)—in other words, classical study—to the prior claims of *litteræ antiquiores* and the *termini doctorum antiquorum*—in other words, the regular medieval curriculum, which was more suited to the necessities of disputation.

The full number of Fellows was to be carefully kept up, and every vacancy filled within a month.

The Injunctions are full of the spirit of discipline, exact and unfailing, as that alone by which the college could flourish. Not even “academics” were left unnoticed. Each of the members of the Society was to wear his proper gown, according to the custom of other honourable colleges in the University, on pain

of loss of commons during such time as this duty might be neglected.

Dr. Cox was the Royal Commissioner sent to Oxford in 1534 to enforce the new doctrine of the Royal Supremacy over the Church. At once, as elsewhere, no difficulty was found in obtaining the written consent of every member of the Society to the form of submission dictated by the King. In 1538 Henry VIII. ordered the discontinuance of honours to St. Thomas of Canterbury. This order was very carefully observed at Oriel, and the name of the martyred saint disappeared from every calendar.

As an off-set to the submissive obedience of the college as a body, it is worth while to recall the fact that Edward Powell, Canon of Salisbury, who was the chosen defender of University Catholicism against Lutheran heresy and the advocate of Queen Katharine herself, and who for his zeal was executed in 1540, had been a Fellow of Oriel from about 1495 to 1505.

During Ware's tenure of the Provostship Oriel rebuilt its hall, which stood on the north side of the quadrangle into which "La Oriole" had grown. In November, 1531, an order was made that the college should "proceed to the building of a common hall," and that the Provost and the treasurers should arrange the matter with the workmen so as to annoy the Society as little as possible. Then probably followed the gradual collection of necessary funds; and in January, 1535, the Provost was authorized to make a contract with the masons and the carpenter, with the advice of Mr. Heritage, who may have been Thomas Heritage, a former Fellow. Apparently, however, sufficient money

was not yet collected, for we find it ordered in December of this same year (1535) that two of the Fellows, Masters Ryshton and Smith, should draw up begging letters for the building fund to be sent to former Fellows.

The frequent recurrence of serious sickness at Oxford during the reign of Henry VIII. had greatly increased the prominence of Bartlemas as a sanatorium. In all respects the lapse of time had strengthened the connexion between the college and the hospital, though that connexion had by no means ceased to be a cause of friction. The great source of difficulty always was the recalcitrancy of the city of Oxford against the obligation to support the hospital out of its fee-farm rent. Over and over again, ever since Oriel acquired St. Bartholomew's, the obligation had been renewed by successive Kings; but the city still made difficulties. When, in 1536, the perennial trouble recurred, it was attempted, with a success which lasted for three centuries, to attain to such a compromise as might satisfy both parties and prevent the recurrence of the dispute. The city and the college agreed to submit the matter to two Barons of the Exchequer, and to accept their decision. The court devised a compromise. The obligation on the city was maintained, but the sum to be paid was reduced from £23 0s. 5d. to £19, and the city was allowed the right to nominate the almsmen.

Provost Ware resigned on December 6, 1538. His successor was Henry Mynne, who died in 1540; and he in turn was succeeded by William Haynes, who resigned in 1550, three years after the death of Henry VIII. During Haynes's rule, in 1545, Bishop Longland again visited and again issued Injunctions. There was still,

it seemed, need of amendment. The secular side of the college studies was brought into prominence. All Fellows who were eventually to study theology were to spend three full years in philosophical study first, unless there was, in the judgment of the Provost or Dean and two of the Fellows, some legitimate impediment to such an arrangement; moreover, every Fellow was under penalties to be in readiness to engage in philosophical disputation. Three Fellows—Edmund Crispyn, Anthony Alboin, and John Gore—were selected for special injunction. They were to go through the prescribed philosophical propædæutic, and then to apply themselves to theology, *omnibus nervis et viribus*. Crispyn was a lecturer in medicine in the University, and might therefore be exempted to some extent; but he was not to escape the stated college disputations, philosophical and theological. The said Crispyn seems to have shown some of the scant reverence for conventions often attributed to votaries both of science and art. The Bishop enjoined him to be punctual in his attendance at service in St. Mary's, and to abstain from blasphemous speech and profane swearing. Moreover, as long as he was Fellow of Oriel, he must not grow a beard, nor wear, either inside or outside the college, plaited shirts or shoes of a lay cut, but go about in honest and decent clerical garb.

Something may be learned from these injunctions as to the status of St. Mary Hall at this date. The scholars elected to the Hall (by whom we are to understand the St. Anthony and Dudley Exhibitioners) were, if possible, to be such as could sing. The existing door of communication between the college and the Hall was to be

walled up so that there might be no manner of door there for the future. Care was to be taken in the selection of a clever and industrious (*solers et diligens*) man as Principal of the Hall, and it was to be his duty to provide suitable and adequately learned persons to read with the students there. For the rest, the flame of academic energy was to be kept active in the Hall. Disputations were to be carried on there according to the ancient custom.

The Bishop also enjoined that the college gates were to be locked every night at eight between All Saints and the Purification, and at nine between the Purification and All Saints. The time for opening was to be five or six in the morning.

Finally, the Provost, Dean, and Fellows were for the future to conduct the more serious business of the college deliberately and in a less hasty manner (*non præcipitanter*) than hitherto; and, indeed, the college was to refrain from making changes unless they were demanded by urgent necessity.

After the resignation of Provost Haynes the uneventful annals of the Oriel Headship in those years were lit up by one or two vivid little scenes. Twice the Crown attempted, but only once successfully, to intrude its nominee into the Provostship. The first case was in 1550 in the appointment of a successor to Haynes, and it brings an interesting man for a fleeting moment on the Oriel stage. William Turner, who died Dean of Wells, is a characteristic figure of his epoch. His real academic nursery and home was Cambridge, where he was Fellow and Treasurer of Pembroke Hall, and at Cambridge the influence of Ridley and Latimer deter-

mined him to the side of the Reformers. On leaving Cambridge he went about much as an itinerant preacher, and in that capacity seems first to have visited Oxford in 1540. At Oxford orthodoxy was harder for a Reformer to co-exist with than at Cambridge. Turner was put in gaol for preaching without licence, and afterwards found his best safety on the Continent. There he was able to follow the real bent of his life, for he was essentially a man of science rather than a theologian, a physician rather than a divine; and above all, that new thing in England, a botanist. Even at Cambridge he had published a *Libellus de re herbaria*, and on the Continent, and especially in Holland, he botanized extensively. In 1547 he ventured back to England, when the accession of Edward VI., the Protestant King, made it easier for such a man to flourish. He was made chaplain and physician to the Protector Somerset, and actively pursued his botanical career at Kew. Such favour as Turner now had, however, was not enough to keep him from the supplicating attitude of a poor man. In 1550, the year of Provost Haynes's resignation, we find him beseeching Burghley for employment, with much pathos in his tones. Burghley got him a prebend at York, but that was not enough. The Privy Council were really anxious to better poor Turner's condition, and when the Oriel Headship fell vacant, they somewhat imperiously ordered the Fellows to appoint him Provost. The College, however, having probably been warned in time, was not going to suffer so serious an innovation; and when the order arrived, the Fellows were able to answer that they had already elected one of their own number, John Smyth, and that the place was not vacant.

Later in the same year we find Turner begging for the Presidentship of Magdalen. What he actually and ultimately got was the Deanery of Wells. Turner's after career was chequered; but in the end of the day he managed to leave to the world that *Herbal* which fairly launched botanical science in England.

Smyth held office until 1565, and was thus Provost throughout the violences of Mary's reign and the opening years of Elizabeth's. He was eminent enough as a theologian to be Margaret Professor of Divinity from 1554-1561. It was on his resignation that the second and successful attempt was made to bring in an outsider as Provost of Oriel. This time it was a man more prominent in his day than Turner, though his reputation was more ephemeral. Like Turner, Roger Marbeck was a physician, though, like most other men of mark of those days, he had a theological career first. In his case, however, it seems to have stopped short of ordination. In 1552 Marbeck was elected student of the now fully equipped college of Christ Church, and at Christ Church he resided fifteen years. He built up a great reputation for Latinity; and when the office of Public Orator was instituted in 1564, Marbeck was chosen to be the first holder of it. In 1565 he was made a Canon of Christ Church, and the same year, on March 9, was elected Provost of Oriel. His election was unanimous, so that this blow at the statutes was struck by the college itself and not, as in the case of Turner, by an interfering and imperious Privy Council successfully resisted by an autonomous college. The constitutional irregularity of the proceeding is marked by the grant of a dispensation by the Visitor.

Queen Elizabeth paid her first state visit to Oxford in 1566, and Marbeck, as Public Orator, was one of the University officials who received her on August 31 at Wolvercote on her way from Woodstock, having prepared a speech in his most elegant Latin. By this time, however, he had ceased to be Provost of Oriel, having relinquished that position, for what reason and in what circumstances there is nothing to show, on June 24, 1566. Anthony Wood tells us that the play of *Palamon and Arcyte*, given with so much *éclat* before the Queen in Christ Church Hall, was rehearsed in Marbeck's rooms at Christ Church. Marbeck, like Cassio and many another, was ruined by his wife, and by-and-by had to leave Oxford. It was then that his medical career began. In 1578 he was Fellow of the College of Physicians, and became chief medical adviser at Court. Towards the close of his varied life he accompanied Howard in his expedition against Cadiz in 1596, of which expedition he has left an account.

One of the entertainments provided for Elizabeth was a series of disputations in her presence at St. Mary's on the third, fourth, and fifth days of September. At one of these the "moderator" was John Belly or Bellay of Oriel, and he it was who succeeded Marbeck as Provost, being elected June 25, 1566. He was thus already Provost when he "moderated" at St. Mary's before the Queen. He belonged to a Somerset family, the Bellays of Haselbury, and had been Fellow of Oriel since 1556. He held office until February, 1574, when he became incorporated at Cambridge, and was made Canon of Lincoln. He was a Doctor of Civil Law and a Master in Chancery when he died in 1608.

A few more or less eminent names fall to be mentioned in connection with the period we have just been traversing. William James, Master of University and Dean of Christ Church, who attended the Earl of Leicester on his deathbed and died Bishop of Durham in 1617, was a Dudley Exhibitioner for a few months in 1561. A St. Anthony Exhibitioner for a brief period was John Lane, who was educated afterwards at Corpus, where he became Fellow. He then joined the Roman Church, and became a Jesuit under the influence of Parsons, with whom he went abroad, dying at last at Complutum in Spain in 1578.

More complete *Orielenses* were the two Untons, Edward and Henry. The family rented from the college the Manor of Wadley, near Faringdon, of which we have heard before. They were descended through their mother from the Protector Somerset. Edward Unton was educated at Oriel, and was Member for Berks in 1555 and again in 1586. Henry, the younger brother, interests us more. He took his B.A. from Oriel in 1573, and his M.A. in 1590, and was entered at the Middle Temple and became M.P. for New Woodstock. An important military and diplomatic career then opened before him. He was present at the Battle of Zutphen in 1586, when his friend, Sir Philip Sidney, lost his life. He was afterwards ambassador to the French court in the reign of Henry IV., being with that King at the siege of Rouen. He died in the same service before La Fère in 1596.

All men know that tradition gives to our college one of the greatest of the Elizabethans—Sir Walter Raleigh.

The tradition is based on two facts, neither of which, perhaps, nor a combination of the two, is sufficient for perfect certainty. One fact is the appearance of the name "W. Rawley" in the list of members of the college under date 1572; and the other is the assertion of Anthony Wood that Sir Walter Raleigh entered Oriel as a commoner in 1568. Anyhow, the tradition is strong, and no Oriel man of proper spirit will readily let it go. In accordance with it, a portrait of the great and luckless man hangs over the gallery at the south end of the Hall.

Belly's successor in the Provostship was Anthony Blencowe, whose reign lasted until 1618. Blencowe became Fellow in 1563; he was M.A. in 1566, and both Bachelor and Doctor of Civil Law in 1586. In 1567 he was Prælector of Dialectics. A canonry of Wells was the limit of his ecclesiastical promotion.

Not from any special eminence in the Provost, but from the importance of the period in University development, the reign of Blencowe is a memorable one in the history of Oriel. The Chancellorship of the Earl of Leicester, which lasted from 1564 to 1588, falls into rank with the Chancellorship of Laud and the nineteenth century as the first of the three great reforming periods in the modern history of Oxford University. It was not until 1571 that the University was formally and fully incorporated by Act of Parliament. It was under Leicester's influence that the Hebdomadal Council in its first phase was instituted. It was by Leicester that the great Elizabethan principle of Anglican monopoly was applied to the University. But it is by its results on the college system that the Chancellorship of Leicester

chiefly interests us here. If it was to Elizabeth's favourite that the University owed the unbending Anglicanism which characterized her down to 1871, it was equally to him that the colleges owed that monopoly of admission to the privileges of the University which they enjoyed down to the introduction of non-collegiate matriculation in 1868. Both monopolies were created in 1581, in which year a statute was passed making membership of a college or hall essential to membership of the University.

The effect of this statute upon Oriel was very great. We have already traced the tentative beginnings of the great change by which paying *extranei*, whether *servitors*, *battlers*, *commensales*, or *communarii* were added as members to the original Society of Fellows, for benefits of residence and education. What made those beginnings tentative was, of course, the possibility and habitual practice of getting degrees without the intervention of any college. The statute of 1581, which destroyed that possibility, brought about a change which it is easy both to under-estimate and to misconceive. It is easy to under-estimate it; for what the statute really did was to lead to a siege of the colleges by those desiring Oxford degrees; and such a siege makes no sensational figure in history. And it is easy to misconceive it; for so large and important is the class of commoners in every college at the present time that it needs some effort to realize that the ubiquity of the commoner at Oxford dates from no earlier than the second half of the nineteenth century. From 1581 onwards the noble army of aspiring *extranei* knocked at the gates of the colleges. Not until 1854

did the last of the strongholds capitulate and let them in.

As it is one of Oriel's peculiar glories to have kept her Fellowships open to all members of the University, it is another that she welcomed *extranei* from the first, and in this respect never altered her policy. Inevitably, therefore, the statute of 1581 soon told upon the statistics of her membership. The "Style," as the treasurers' accounts at Oriel are called, which begins in 1450, is interrupted by the loss of the volume dealing with the years 1526-1583. When the regular series is recommenced in the latter year, we soon see the apparent effect of the statute. From 1584 onwards *communarii*, who have hitherto been but stray specimens, are a constant element in the college lists; their numbers are given regularly each year, and from 1600 their names also. Thus we find that in 1584-85 fifteen commoners were admitted; for a year or two they remained at about the same figure, then they diminished until in 1589-90 none were admitted at all. In the following year, however, there were sixteen, and the number went on increasing on the whole, until it touched twenty-six in 1596-97. This was the maximum in Blencowe's time, and it was not again reached until 1616-17. As a rule, the number remained in the teens, once or twice only shrinking below or rising above them.

One of the most interesting of the *extranei* in Elizabeth's reign, besides those we have already mentioned, is Sir Robert Harley, who entered Oriel as a *commensalis* in 1597. He was four years a resident in the college, and, as we shall find, formed so strong

a tie to it as to contribute to its building fund afterwards. Harley's own fame, however, was not academic. He became a typical Englishman of his stormy time, a Herefordshire magistrate and member of Parliament (Herefordshire being his native county), Master of the Mint in 1626, and one of the supports of Puritanism in the Long Parliament. It was Harley who, in January, 1641, presented a petition from a thousand ministers praying for reforms in the episcopate; and in April, 1643, he headed a committee entrusted with the task of destroying "idolatrous monuments," a committee which by no means shirked its duties. A more romantic display of his principles was the gallant defence of his country seat, Brampton Bryan, against the Royalist forces in 1643 by his wife, appropriately named "Brilliana."

Harley's instructor while he was at Oriel was a Welshman called Cadwallader Owen, who deserves a passing word as one of the few college teachers of that time concerning whom any tidings have come down. The tidings in Owen's case are, after all, a mere shred. We are told that he was reputed a great disputant, and that his nickname, expressive of his controversial and dogmatic attitude, was "*Sic doceo.*" Anthony Wood, who is our informant, speaks of writings of Owen's of which he had heard but knew nothing. He died in 1617, leaving a son, Richard, who in due time became a Fellow of Oriel.

A St. Anthony exhibitioner between 1604 and 1606 was Giles Sweit or Sweet. He had matriculated from St. John's, but took his B.A. degree from Oriel in 1605. He was afterwards a Fellow of All Souls; but it was

not till after the Restoration that he began to bring home his best sheaves. He was Principal of St. Alban's Hall, at Oxford, from 1661-1664, and Regius Professor of Civil Law in 1661. He was one of Charles II.'s knights.

A more important exhibitor of St. Anthony was Roger Mannering, or Manwaring, though he had no further connection with Oriel, having taken his degree from All Souls. He became Dean of Worcester and Bishop of St. David's, and students of the reign of Charles I. remember the effect produced early in the reign by his sermons in favour of the royal prerogative, his impeachment, and the struggle he had to maintain against the growing antipathy of the Puritans.

The vicissitudes of Oriel during Blencowe's term of office are not particularly striking. One constitutional change there was which touched at least the outworks of the college. One of the acts of Leicester's Chancellorship was to abolish the control which Oriel had hitherto exercised over its *dépendance*, St. Mary Hall. In spite of this severance, however, the Principals of St. Mary Hall were invariably Fellows of Oriel for nearly a hundred years.

We have, as has just been remarked, little to guide us as to tuition in those days. In 1585 a certain Mr. Wharton agreed to instruct juniors in the rudiments of the Christian religion. In 1591 Dr. Parkinson was confirmed as prælector and logic moderator. In 1595 the power of catechizing was conferred on Mr. Griffith, the Dean. In 1606 we find Wharton, the college instructor in "rudiments," made a public catechist in obedience to the University statutes. In 1585 the Provost reminds

the Fellows of their educational responsibilities by admonishing them as to the behaviour of their scholars; and in the following year they are made answerable to the butler for the battels of their scholars or pupils. By rules made in 1594, no commoner was to be admitted without the consent of the Provost, the Dean, and others; and security for battels was to be given to the butler. Also no Fellow was to have more than one poor scholar under the name of "battler." Such battlers, or servitors, were occasionally styled "*pauperculi nostri*."

The change in the condition of the college caused by the influx of commoners soon made the old quadrangle, with its chapel and hall—the college as we see it in Neale's drawing—inadequate to an institution which had become educational in a new sense. A regular pressure of from ten to twenty-six new members a year on space originally designed for from ten to eighteen persons inevitably caused an uncomfortable pressure. Accordingly, in the course of Blencowe's reign, the Register begins to indicate a design of rebuilding. As early as 1606 the design was present, for we read that timber belonging to the college was to be sold, and the price set apart for the college building. Blencowe had the design very near his heart, and in his will he left £1,300 to the fund for the purpose. The actual operations were begun in 1619, the year after Blencowe's death, and from that year they proceeded steadily until the whole college premises were completely renewed, and the new building was put fully in use in 1642.

It was the new Provost, William Lewis, who saw the first demolition; and during his short tenure of office

he superintended and helped the first stage of the building operations. For more reasons than one, Lewis is one of the most interesting of the Oriel Provosts, though his fame is principally that of a satellite. He was, as his name indicates, a Welshman—a native of Merionethshire. Coming up to Oxford, he was educated at Hart Hall, and became Fellow of Oriel in 1608. He took Orders, and threw himself into the High Church movement which was growing against the dominant Calvinism. He soon became prominent or lucky enough to win the notice of Francis Bacon, the Lord Chancellor, who made him his chaplain. When Provost Blencowe died in January, 1618, Bacon's protégé was only twenty-six, and there were many senior Fellows with prior claims to the Headship. Yet, through the powerful patronage which he could command, Lewis obtained the place. The college was not unanimous. "Many Bishops"—those, we are to suppose, whom the Lord Chancellor had consulted—were against him; but the great man's will carried the position. Anthony Wood reports that Bacon was aided by Welsh influence at Oriel.

Lewis was appointed in February, 1618, and he resigned on June 29, 1621, having held office only a few months over three years. His career was, however, far from being closed. Immediately on leaving Oxford he went to Paris on some diplomatic business; was afterwards secretary to Buckingham; and in 1628 chaplain to Charles I. himself. He was at Rochelle with Buckingham; and he wrote what he called a *General Relation of a Voyage to Rhé*, which Anthony Wood tells us he saw in manuscript, but which seems

never to have been published. Owing to his strenuous Anglicanism and royalism, Lewis was one of the sufferers under the Commonwealth, and had to go into exile. A quiet evening to his life, however, began with the Restoration. He was made a Canon of Winchester and then Master of the Hospital of St. Cross in that neighbourhood. There he died and was buried in 1667.

We must return for a moment from Lewis's life-story to mark the constitutional bearings of his election to the Oriel Provostship. Bacon's influence in the matter was not confined to recommendation of, or insistence on, Lewis's claims to the Fellows. The want of unanimity gave a pretext for the interference of outside authority to solve the *discordia*. According to the statutes of May, 1326, the second set of statutes which, we remember, was substituted for the original statutes of January in that year, the proper authority for that purpose was that of the Visitor, the Bishop of Lincoln. In this case, in spite of the *discordia*, the Bishop of Lincoln had duly confirmed Lewis's appointment. But the *discordia* was still held to stand in need of formal removal; and, all things considered, it was thought well to bring forward the superseded original statutes, which made the confirmation of the King's Chancellor necessary to such an appointment. This was accordingly done, and Lord Chancellor Bacon restored harmony by declaring Provost Lewis duly elected. To the declaration, as it appears in the Register, is appended Bacon's autograph signature. No disapproving comment seems to have been made on this proceeding, which was hardly ever repeated, until, a century later, as we shall find,

the question of the two sets of statutes re-emerged in an acute form, and then was set at rest for ever.

In 1619 the building operations were begun by the pulling down of the *primaria pars collegii*, that is to say, the west front facing Schidyard Street, probably either an actual wall of the original "La Oriole," or at least of the quadrangle built on the site of "La Oriole." In 1620 the south front, facing St. John Street (now Merton Street), was similarly demolished, and both parts were immediately rebuilt. These two exterior sides of the proposed quadrangle having been thus protected, its completion was allowed to stand over for some years, until a further appeal to the liberality of old members of the college could be made with success. Provost Lewis was an ardent friend of the undertaking. He had, we are told, a great gift of letter-writing, could write letters which were "elegant, in a winning, persuasive way"; indeed, it was this gift which originally brought him under Bacon's notice. Bacon now advised him to dedicate it to the service of the Oriel building fund, which he accordingly did, with excellent results. He applied to Sir Robert Harley; he applied to Robert Pierrepont of Holme Pierrepont in Nottinghamshire, who was a *commensalis* of Oriel in 1596. This Robert Pierrepont was created Baron Pierrepont of Holme Pierrepont and Viscount Newark in 1627, and the following year Earl of Kingston-upon-Hull. He was shot in a pinnace off Hull in 1643. Pierrepont's donation was £100; Sir Robert Harley's was £20. Both these distinguished benefactors are commemorated by the presence of their arms in the windows of the hall. Lewis himself gave £100 towards the fund,

which grew by other means. Thus, in October, 1621, it is recorded in the Register that £123 6s. 8d. was raised by sale of timber at Wadley, and £90 by the sale of gold and silver plate.

The college got its stone—the crumbling, quickly weathering oolitic limestone which lends itself so well to the general air of antiquity at Oxford—from a quarry belonging to it at Headington. In 1610 Oriel seems to have joined with other colleges in renting Shotover and Stow Wood from the Crown. The rights over Stow Wood, if they were ever really enjoyed, would add greatly to the opportunities for acquiring timber which Oriel already enjoyed through Bartlemas. On April 10, 1619, an order was made to cut down nine oaks at Bartlemas, and to bring them with stone from the college quarry for the building of the west front. In the following year twenty-two oaks were cut down at Stowford.

The work was not resumed till 1636, many years after Lewis had ceased to be Provost. The new Provost was John Tolson, who held office from July 5, 1621, till his death on December 16, 1644. Tolson was a Cumberland man who matriculated at Oriel in 1590, and was elected to one of the Dudley Exhibitions. He was elected Fellow in 1595, and seems to have been in residence ever since up to the time of his election to the Provostship. He had been Dean as far back as 1605.

At the October audit in 1636 the college again took in hand the rebuilding project, and made certain resolutions on the subject. From that time there seems to have been no slackening; present and former members contributed largely, and the new quadrangle grew to

completion. The completion consisted of the rebuilding of the north and east sides of the square, to match the south and west sides which had been rebuilt in 1619 and 1620. The moment of formal completion was the opening of the new chapel for Divine service in 1642, the year of the outbreak of the Great Civil War.

The building thus solemnly inaugurated was the present front quadrangle of the college, which stands on the ground formerly occupied by "La Oriole," St. Martin's Hall, and other tenements. The sightseer who passes southward down King Edward Street, an extremely modern thoroughfare, finds himself at the end of it in a wide, open space which stretches along the eastern side of the Peckwater quadrangle of Christ Church to Canterbury Gate and the beginning of Corpus Christi. This airy and sunny space, formerly covered by stables and other outbuildings belonging to the Provosts of Oriel, was first thrown open not many years ago when King Edward Street was completed. The eastern side of this space is bounded by the front of Oriel. Our sightseer, when he passes in under the tower over the gate, sees, in all essentials, the very same architectural effect which broke first on young scholars in the year when King Charles raised his standard at Nottingham. He stands, looking eastward, in a perfectly regular quadrangle, of which the southern and northern sides are formed by three-story buildings with square casements, each containing two narrow windows side by side. These buildings consist of chambers allotted to the members of the college, graduate and undergraduate, a large part of the build-

ing on the north side being devoted to the *hospitium* or lodgings of the Provost. More chambers occupy the western building behind him, on both sides of the gateway and its tower. Access to the chambers was then, and still is, afforded by six doorways surmounted now, through the liberality of one of the living Fellows, by replicas of shields which originally stood there, the arms of the great benefactors, Frank, Carpenter, Smyth, and Dudley, and of the three Provosts in office while the rebuilding was in design or progress, Blencowe, Lewis, and Tolson. Our sightseer notices that the farther doorway in the northern building has no door, and is, in fact, but an archway leading through a short tunnel into what is now the "back quad," and was once the college garden—ground occupying the site of Aungevyn's, Hore's, Pykard's, and other messuages belonging to the college. Above the south-eastern angle of the "quad" he sees the top and pinnacles of St. John Baptist's tower, the tower of Merton College Chapel, which carries the eye upwards from the rather low-pitched line of the buildings, and seems, especially in the vagueness of moonshine, to belong to Oriel. Opposite, the entire eastern side of the quadrangle is occupied by the hall and chapel, the chapel being at the southern end on the site of the former St. Martin's Hall. The hall and chapel are of uniform height with the other buildings, and each has a projecting bay-window of large size. The hall is lighted by traceried large windows of three lights with small-headed panes of glass. Round all the buildings runs a series of string courses. Between the hall and chapel there is a large open portico with pillars, led up to by a flight of broad steps. On the



From a photograph by the]

THE CHAPEL

[Oxford Camera Club



parapet of this portico runs the legend, *Regnante Carolo*, thus dating the building. So it ran at the first, but for many a day until a very few years ago no sightseer could have seen it. Like the shields of the benefactors and Provosts, it was restored, and by the same generous hand.

Directly above the portico two statues stand side by side in companion niches, surmounted by a considerably taller niche containing the figure of the Virgin and Child, and over all a canopy breaks the even line of roofing and pediments. One of the lower figures is Edward II., the founder; the other, there seems no doubt, is Charles I., in whose reign the buildings were completed.

There is nothing interesting to the architectural enthusiast in any of this building; there is, it may be, nothing conspicuously beautiful in it, except the weather-stained and crumbling stone. Yet our sightseer is sure to keep his first impression of the Oriel buildings in a more cherished group than those of contemporary buildings in the same type, and with substantially the same features. We will let him go for the present, and see how Oriel fared during the Civil War and the Commonwealth.

The immediate result of the battle of Edgehill in October, 1642, was the choice of Oxford as the Royalist headquarters, and the proximity of the King to the University and colleges naturally led him to look to the latter not only for loyalty, but for the sinews of war. Oriel did not escape the general obligation. In January, 1643, the King called for the college plate, and almost the whole of it was given, amounting in

weight to 29 lb. 0 oz. 5 dwt. of gilt, and 52 lb. 7 oz. 14 dwt. of "white" plate. In the same year Oriel was assessed at £1 for the weekly sum of £40 charged on the colleges and halls for the fortification of the city. It is recorded that the college made this contribution with joy, considering that God and the Muses were helping the King to turn the hosts of the enemy. As early as October, 1643, however, the seamy side of events begins to be shown.

There were two postponements of the autumnal audit that year, because, *præ miseria temporum*, it was not convenient to strike the annual balance. The same thing happened in 1644, *ingravescente temporum iniquitate*. In May, 1645, when the New Model was in full operation, and Fairfax's movements became more and more threatening to Oxford, the college felt serious alarm. The city was on the point of being besieged, and the language of the register becomes rhetorical. "Confluentibus undique militum turmis necnon (bachante Martis impetu) miseria temporum ingravescente ut ubique scelus impune grassetur atque Rapina sancitæ legis rationem induat": in such transcendent circumstances the college must do something special and unusual in order to keep its head above water. Its revenues were chiefly derived from rents, and very largely from rents in Oxford; and the tenants naturally became irregular in their payments. It was, therefore, proposed to try to get the Oxford tenants to pay the next year's rent in advance, and to ask a certain George Prince to pay £20 or £30 for the mere promise of the next lease of Bartlemas. The October audit was again postponed, ostensibly because of the unexpected death

of the butler (*pincerna*), but chiefly, no doubt, for the same reasons as before.

In November, 1645, fines for non-payment of rent were applied to the support of the common table, and all the timber at Bartlemas was felled, that the proceeds might help the ebbing Treasury. The amount realized by this particular transaction was £279 10s. 6d.

The pressure of the times told on the Fellowships also in this year, 1645. No attempt was made to fill up vacancies, partly because in such times there would be no large enough choice of candidates, partly because of the impecuniousness of the college on account of the siege. It was held that, as the number of Fellows increased with increased revenues, so it should decrease with decrease of income. In March, 1646, the commons of members were reduced to one half, and in that year the audit was postponed once more.

Oxford having capitulated, and the Royalist cause being completely shattered, a new epoch began for the Oxford colleges. The Visitation of 1647-48 was the chief outward sign of the triumph of the Parliamentary and military forces, and it was a trying ordeal for a loyal University. Oriel had an ordinary and by no means specially conspicuous fate. She had changed Heads in the course of the troubles. On December 16, 1644, Provost Tolson died, and was buried in St. Mary's without pomp, but not without the genuine tears of the Fellows. His successor was John Saunders, Doctor of Medicine, who was educated entirely at Oriel, and had been Fellow since 1602. When, on October 5, 1647, the first summons from William Newhouse and the other Parliamentary Commissioners arrived, the

college put off answering on account of the absence of the Provost. When, about a month later, the Provost had returned, the answer to the Commissioners was a quiet but firm refusal to comply, based on the obligation of the statutes.

On May 8, 1648, the "buttlers" received an order from the Delegates to furnish a roll of names of members of the college, and on the following day the answers of ten of the Fellows were forthcoming. They were decidedly lukewarm. Robert Say, the Dean, was not yet satisfied how he could perform what was required of him without violation of his conscience. John Rouse did not refuse absolutely to submit to the ordinance, but desired to postpone his submission until he was more fully informed as to some particulars. Nicholas Brookes thought he could not submit without violating his oaths to the University. William Washbourne was ready to submit if he could be persuaded that he might do so *salva conscientia*. Sharrington, Sheldon, and Philip Bowch unequivocally declared their inability to submit; Arthur Acland and Richard Sanders postponed decision pending fuller information; while Henry Chamberlaine and John Duncombe sheltered themselves behind the University. The latter had no doubt that the University had given "noe unsatisfyinge Answer," and to that he subscribed. It was of these members that Anthony Wood reported: "Though they did not directly submit, yet the greater part of them kept their places by the same means that others did."

The attitude of Provost Saunders himself was correspondingly ambiguous. When at first called upon, as

we have seen, he was "not at home." When at last he was made to speak out on May 29, 1648, he made what must be construed as a refusal to submit :

"I . . . referre my selfe to the Answere presented by me (October last) in the name of the Colledge, the grounds thereof being the stronge obligation of severall oathes by me in publique and solemn manner taken, which I have not since that tyme beene, nor doe yet understand how I can be released. . . . I do not well see how I can recede from or alter my former resolution without violence to my conscience, the preservation whereof hath hitherto beene, and still is, the unfained and sole end of that and this my Answere."

Nevertheless, as Anthony Wood says, "Dr. Saunders kept his place till the time of his death."

The final result of the Visitation was that five of the eighteen Fellows were removed, though two of these were soon after restored. Two Fellowships, indeed, were suspended; but that was on financial grounds, that something might be done towards bringing the college balance to the right side. In 1648 we find the Visitors appointing a Fellow, one William Brage, on their own authority, and this authority seems to have lasted until 1652. In November, 1651, Henry Hawley was elected by the college itself, but, as we are distinctly told, on authority granted by the Commissioners. In April, 1652, Charles Perrott was elected, after application to the Commissioners for lease; but in October of that year John Washbourne was chosen without reference to the Commissioners, and from that time onwards the autonomy of the college in this respect seems to have been fully restored.

The restored autonomy was emphasized in the election of Robert Say to the Provostship on the death of Saunders in March, 1653, which was carried out without any interference.

The storms of the Civil War and its consequences being at an end, we are to think of our college as entering on a period of "tranquil restoration." One notorious outward sign of this was the rebuilding of St. Bartholomew's Hospital, on which Provost Saunders lived long enough to set his seal. It took place in 1651, when the structure which the visitor now sees as a picturesque farmstead was built for the eight almsmen. The chapel was restored and embellished, though not rebuilt, at the same time. This chapel, which preserves the memory of the original purpose of the hospital, is a beautiful little church of rather uncertain date. The better architectural opinion is that the main part of it is fifteenth-century, with at least two fourteenth-century windows. The chief sign of the presence of the seventeenth-century restorers is the wooden screen, on which is inscribed: "O. C., 1651." This stands, of course, for Oriel College, and gives the date of the erection of the screen. Or shall we follow the multitude who believe in the plenary and verbal inspiration of Anthony Wood, and maintain that O. C. stands for Oliver Cromwell, and was inscribed by "the saints in honour of their great commander"?

The almsmen's chambers, each with its neat fireplace and locker, are still worth looking at, though they no longer serve their original purpose. Over the doors are the initials of Provost Saunders and the treasurers.

During Say's long reign, which lasted till 1691,

the flow of life at Oriel was for the most part quiet and unbroken. None of the great political vicissitudes, neither the Protectorate nor the Restoration, told specially on the college. That it was in no sense retrograding may be gathered from its building a ball-court, and making rules for its library. The ball-court was built at the outset of Say's term of office, in 1653. It was to cost £27, and the cost was to be defrayed by a charge of 5s. on the admission of each commoner until the debt was paid off.

The rules for the library are dated April 4, 1655. There was to be a regular librarian, chosen yearly at the Easter Commemoration, and all the Fellow Commoners' fees on admission were thenceforward to be spent on the library. The librarian's salary was to be furnished by a charge of 2s. 6d. in the pound on all moneys paid for the use of the library. The members of the college were not to be admitted indiscriminately to the use of the books; but those of the standing of B.A., or Fellow Commoners of seventeen who had taken the oath, might, on payment of 5s. to the librarian, be admitted "to those Seates where the Humanity and Philosophy books were placed." Every Bachelor or undergraduate outsider found intruding into the library was to pay a 5s. fine, unless properly introduced. The librarian was not on any account to disburse the funds in his possession without the consent of the Provost or the Dean. The chamber in which the books were stored was on the northern side of the quadrangle.

The rippling flow of the college annals began to be disturbed in the early seventies of the century by some

internal dissension. Bribery was then an active element in all departments of English life, and appointments to Fellowships, especially in a college like Oriel, where there was little restriction on choice, were often open to censure. A very considerable event happened in 1673. One James Davenant, a Fellow since 1661, complained to the Bishop of Lincoln, as Visitor, of the Provost's conduct in the election of a certain Thomas Twitty to a Fellowship at Oriel. Such was the gravity of the complaint that Bishop Fuller appointed a Commission to inquire into the matter. The Commissioners were the Vice-Chancellor, Peter Mews, who was about to resign the Presidentship of St. John's on his appointment to the Bishopric of Bath and Wells; Fell, the Dean of Christ Church; and Dr. Yates, Principal of Brasenose. Fell reported to the Bishop on August 1 in a manner which shows clearly the kind of offence of which Say had been guilty. The Dean's words are:

"When this Devil of buying and selling is once cast out, your Lordship will, I hope, take care that he return not again, lest he bring seven worse than himself into the house after 'tis swept and garnisht."

The Commissioners made some definite proposals for reform. One was that a majority of all the Fellows should always be insisted on, that the Provost might not be able to push an election in a thin meeting. Another was that the Fellows should be admitted immediately after their election. "There is a cheat in some houses by keeping the successor out for a good while after the election."



On January 24, 1674, Bishop Fuller issued a decree dealing with the recommendations of the Commissioners.

In the proceedings which followed, Provost Say got himself into a very awkward position, in which hard knocks were inevitable. He was bent on making Twitty a Fellow in defiance of the Visitors' new regulations; and on January 28 he got the King to recommend Twitty for election. Here was a constitutional crisis indeed! The fabric of the college constitution, however, stood even this shock. Whether or not the election and admission of Twitty really took place on the royal recommendation, the Vice-Chancellor refused to swear him. The Bishop also protested at Court, and on February 13 the royal recommendation was withdrawn, and the Provost's imperious will was conquered. Not without unseemly writhings on his part, however; he wrote a letter to the Bishop "such as," according to Fell, "in another age a valianter man would not have written to a Visitor." Fell proceeds to hint that the Provost's complicity might be clearly demonstrated, but that no liberties could be secure against the possibility of overtures by royal interference.

"Though I am afraid that, with a very little diligence, the being a party to Twitty's proceedings may be made out, yet it will not be safe to animadvert on that act, however criminal, as a fault; for, notwithstanding the present concession, the Court will never endure to have the prerogative of laying laws asleep called in question. As to the letter, I think 'twill be much the best way not to answer it. It is below the dignity of a Visitor to contest in empty words. If the Provost goes on with his Hectoring, 'tis

possible he may run himself so in the briers that 'twill not be easy for him to get out."

The Bishop, therefore, came out winner, and his regulations remained in force until that renewal of the struggle in the following century of which we shall read in the next chapter.

The membership of the college during the part of the seventeenth century with which we have just been concerned presents some points of interest, though the roll is not, perhaps, specially or brilliantly distinguished. Perhaps the most historic name is that of William Prynne, the Puritan propagandist and martyr, who, born on the college estate at Swainswick, near Bath, in 1600, was admitted to Oriel as a commoner early in 1616, matriculated there in 1618, and took his B.A. degree from the college in January, 1621. Prynne's father was lessee of the Manor Farm at Swainswick under the college, and Prynne himself succeeded to that position. His career is too well known and too widely interesting to be rehearsed here. We need only remind ourselves that his *Histriomastix*, demonstrating the sinfulness of stage-plays, which was the source of his many afflictions, was published in 1632; that he was prosecuted, imprisoned, and degraded from his Oxford degree in 1634, and soon after lost both his ears in the pillory. Prynne's release, in 1640, was one of the early successes of the Long Parliament. During the Civil War, Prynne, who was by profession a lawyer, distinguished himself as an active pamphleteer, and leading advocate of Erastian Presbyterianism. He was one of the Visitors of the University of Oxford in 1647-48. After the execution of Charles I. he retired to his farm at

Swainswick, and engaged in a polemic against the Commonwealth, which involved him in fresh difficulties and imprisonments. When the Restoration came, Prynne distinguished himself as a representative of that Presbyterian Royalism which was so potent a factor in the settlement, and he died in 1669 with a great reputation as a constitutional authority and adviser of the Government. Through all the chances and changes of his career, Prynne held the love and memory of his college; for in his will, dated the year of his death, the following sentence is found :

“Item, I giue to the Library of Oriel Colledge, in Oxford, whereof I was both a member and tennant, my Ocham upon the Sentences, Saint Briget’s Revellacions, Laurentius Surius his Councils in four tomes, and one of each sort of my owne printed bookes which they yet want.”

Humphry Lloyd, Bishop of Bangor, born in 1610, migrated from the natural academic home of his nationality, Jesus College, to Oriel, whence he took his B.A. degree in 1630, and where he was elected to a Fellowship in 1631. He was, according to Wood, “a great tutor” at Oriel “for many years.” He was a sturdy Royalist throughout the troubles, and was one of the Fellows deprived by the Visitors. It was not till 1674 that his loyalty was rewarded with the bishopric of Bangor.

On Sir William Scroggs, the brutal Lord Chief Justice of England in the dark days of the Popish Plot and the Exclusion Bill, Oriel had a slighter hold. He matriculated at the college in 1639 as a servitor, and immediately after was elected a Dudley Exhibitioner.

Pembroke, however, has the credit, or discredit, of Scroggs' chief education. He took his degree from thence, and while there, Wood tells us, was "master of a good Latin stile, and a considerable disputant."

Another Chief Justice of far higher worth and reputation was Sir John Holt, son of the Recorder of Reading and Abingdon, who was admitted commoner of Oriel in 1658, coming up from Abingdon Grammar School and Winchester. He left Oxford without taking a degree, and there are some idle tales of his dissipation while at the University. It is Holt who is said to have visited in gaol an old University friend whom he had tried for felony. He asked the prisoner about the members of their old set, and was answered: "Ah, my lord, they are all hanged but myself and your lordship." If these stories are true, Holt must have turned over a new leaf when he passed from Oriel to Gray's Inn. He became essentially one of the great reforming lawyers of England, one of whom Steele could say (*Tatler*, xiv.) that "he always sat in triumph over, and contempt of, vice," and yet one actuated always by a real sense of the dignity of the accused. He was also a great civil lawyer. Holt declined the Woolsack in 1700, and lived until 1710.

Some other *Orielenses* of this period may be briefly noticed. Francis Kynaston was admitted in 1602, and put under the tuition of John Rouse. He took his B.A. degree from St. Mary Hall, and afterwards completed his education at Cambridge, returning to Oxford to take his Master's degree in 1611. Kynaston was knighted by James I. in 1618, and became Esquire of the Body to Charles I. He founded the *Musæum Minervæ* in 1635,

a kind of academy of learning or literary club which had great reputation, and of which Kynaston drew up the constitution. He is a good representative of that dainty literary æstheticism of his age which coexisted with the more serious intellectual activities of the Puritan age. Thomas Sutton (1585-1623), member and Fellow of Queen's, founder of a free school in Southwark, "much followed and beloved of all for his smooth and edifying way of preaching, and for his exemplary life and conversation," and drowned in the sea between Newcastle and London, held a Dudley Exhibition for a few years (1602-1605). Francis Sandford, related to the Kynaston family, and in March, 1642, appointed chief engineer of the royal forces in the West of England under Arthur, Lord Capel, was a commoner of the college from 1602-1605. Another commoner who was at Oriel with him was Richard Brathwaite, the poet (1588?-1673), the author of *Spiritual Spicerie*, many pastoral poems and prose romances, and, above all, of *Barnabæ Itinerarium*, afterwards translated as *Drunken Barnaby's Four Journeys*. This appeared in 1638. As we might guess, Brathwaite was no Puritan. His is the verse :

"To Banbury came I, O profane one !
Where I saw a Puritane one
Hanging of his cat on Monday
For killing of a mouse on Sunday."

James Lamb (1599-1664), the Semitic scholar, who wrote an Arabic grammar, a Syriac version of the Prophecies of Daniel, and materials for an Arabic Lexicon, "all with his own hand," was a St. Anthony

Exhibitioner, though he took his degree from Brasenose. Another Orientalist was Samuel Yarothe (spelt by Wood Yerworth or Jeruvorthus), who was at Oriel until he took his degree in 1612. He wrote an *Introductio ad Linguam Ebraicam brevissima*, published in 1650. Robert Vaughan, Commoner in 1611, author of *British Antiquities Revived* (1662), did a good deal for the study of Welsh archæology. Ferriman Rutter, Commoner in 1619, was a minor poet of the day, and contributed to a volume of verse published in 1636, called *Annalia Dubrensis*. Hannibal Baskerville, the eccentric antiquary, who died Lord of Sunningwell, near Abingdon, in 1668, was admitted a Commoner in 1623, though he seems to have migrated to Brasenose. He lived a strange solitary life in his house called Bayworth, and was visited there by Anthony Wood in 1659.

“He was so great a cherisher of wandring beggars, that he built for them a large place like a barne to receive them, and hung up a little bell at his back-dore for them to ring when they wanted anything. He had been several times indicted at Abendon Sessions for harbouring beggars.”*

Another commoner who took his B.A. from Oriel was Calibut Downing, a competitor for the Wardenship of All Souls when Gilbert Sheldon was elected in 1635. After this failure he tried (according to Anthony Wood) to become Secretary to Wentworth in Ireland, thinking that would be a good stepping-stone to a Bishopric; but “being a reputed weathercock,” and finding after a time that the parsonage of Hackney was likely to be

* Wood's *Life and Times* (Clark), O.H.S., xix. 270.

the limit of his ecclesiastical preferment, he became a Puritan and a member of the Westminster Assembly of Divines. He died in 1644. Gerard Langbaine, the famous Provost of Queen's in 1645, held a Dudley Exhibition from 1629 to 1630. Henry Bridgeman, Bishop of Sodor and Man in 1671, who became Fellow of Brasenose, was at Oriel up to the time of his B.A. degree, and gave £10 to the rebuilding fund in 1637. Daubeney Turberville, the Royalist soldier and physician of Salisbury, whom Queen Anne and Pepys both consulted about their eyes, was an Oriel commoner. A Servitor, who took his M.A. degree from the college in 1639, was John Birkenhead, the amanuensis and protégé of Laud, to whom he seems to have owed his M.A. degree and a Fellowship at All Souls. He was the author of *Mercurius Aulicus*, the organ of the Court at Oxford between 1642 and 1645, and was rewarded for his excellence in this capacity by Whyte's Professorship of Moral Philosophy in 1643. Christopher Merritt, Commoner in 1634, was a leading physician in his day, and, like Birkenhead, a Fellow of the Royal Society.

Many names were placed on the college books while the King was at Oxford during the Civil War. Among them were Francis, Lord Cottington; Sir Robert Stapylton, the translator of Juvenal; and Richard Steward, Dean of St. Paul's in 1641. Even the name of "Lady Gardiner" appears among the *Commensales* in 1643, and she seems to have batted from August, 1643, to September, 1644. William Smith, Warden of Wadham 1617-35, was deprived of his preferments under the Commonwealth, and afterwards took refuge at Oriel. While there he had a *famulus* called Richard

Mathew, who left to the college in 1668 £5 to be laid out on books, "Venerabili viro Gulielmo Smith famulus fidelissimus." David Lloyd, author of *Statesmen and Favourites*, schoolmaster at Northop, in Flint, and Canon of St. Asaph, perhaps deserves mention as a Dudley Exhibitioner, servitor, B.A. and M.A. of the college in the Commonwealth time. Sir John Blencowe, descended from Provost Blencowe, Baron of the Exchequer and Judge of the Common Pleas in the reigns of William III., Anne, and George I., was an Oriel commoner, admitted in 1661.

All the foregoing were at Oriel from beginning to end of their academic career. One or two Fellows elected from other colleges may be added to the list. John Rouse, or Russe, Bodley's Librarian 1620-52, was elected from Balliol in 1600, and his body was the first to be buried in the new college chapel in April, 1652. Rouse was an excellent librarian, but his chief title to fame is derived from his friendship with Milton. Milton probably made his acquaintance when he was incorporated M.A. at Oxford in 1635, and they had many cordial relationships afterwards. In 1647 Rouse induced Milton to send to the Bodleian a copy of his works in two volumes; but the smaller volume containing the poetry somehow failed to arrive, and Milton sending a second copy wrote in it the ode, "Ad Joannem Rousium," which appears in every edition of his poems. Rouse so advantageously breathed the catholic spirit of a great library as to be but a lukewarm partisan, though he was definitely associated with the Parliament. There is a portrait of him in the college hall, a copy of one in Bodley's Library.

Nicolas Brookes was elected from Magdalen in 1612, and held his Fellowship till 1653. He was three times Dean (in 1621, 1631, and 1641), and Principal of St. Mary Hall from 1644 to 1656. He helped to carry on the negotiations for the University with the Commissioners in 1647-48.

George Barbour, of Merton, elected in 1669, has a somewhat unenviable notoriety, for he contrived to get the college £230 in debt (gossip said £500), and had his Fellowship taken away in consequence in 1679. The Fellowship was kept vacant until the debt was paid. Barbour was Dean of Oriel in 1677, and Pro-Proctor the same year.

“The 4th of August” (1677), Anthony Wood relates,* “George Barber of Oriel College, proproctor, met in his walk about 11 o’clock at night one Philip Dodwell, a chandler about the Chequer; ask’d him ‘What he did there’; bid him ‘go home.’ He gave him insolent language and would not obey him. He put him in the Vice-Chancellor’s court. The City uphold Dodwell; they go to law about it (Jan. 1678) with the cause about the night watch which the city desires.”

Wood has preserved Barbour’s full narrative of the occurrence. It happened during the Duke of Ormond’s visit to Oxford as Chancellor of the University, when of course the peace of the streets needed special guarding. Dodwell, it seemed, was a notorious disturber, and Barbour had good reason for “looking upon him as a person abetted by the city in affronting the government of the University.” He seems, indeed, to have been a

* *Life* (Clark), O.H.S., xxi. 381.

constable. That night Barbour took no further steps ; but shortly after there were two more instances of Dodwell's insolence, and by-and-by Barbour felt bound to take proceedings. While the case was in progress, two leading citizens, Tisdale and Cornish, came to Barbour proposing "a submission." Barbour eagerly repudiated the proposal, resolved to "walk by the authority of the Vice-Chancellor." Dodwell denied the authority of the Court, and the city seems to have gained its point.

John Haslewood, of Corpus, was elected Fellow of Oriel in 1668, and resigned in 1694. He preached before Ormond at St. Mary's in August, 1677, and became his chaplain. Samuel Desmaistres, elected from Magdalen Hall in 1676, was a noted benefactor of the college. He left £500 for the purchase of livings, and all his books to the library. He died of small-pox in 1686, and was buried in the chapel.

No very conspicuous additions were made to the property of the college during this period. In 1559 the Rectory and advowson of Moreton Pinckney, in Northamptonshire, about eight miles west of Towcester, were bought. In 1683 the Rev. Dudley Hudson, B.A. of Oriel, left to his college by will the advowson of Saltfleetby St. Peter's, in the parts of Lindsey, Lincolnshire, of which he was Rector.

Provost Say died in 1691, having paved the chapel at his own expense.

CHAPTER VI

THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY (1691-1781)

George Royse, 1691-1708 ; George Carter, 1708-1727 ;
Walter Hodges, 1727-1757 ; Chardin Musgrave, 1757-
1768 ; John Clarke, 1768-1781

THE eighteenth century has a bad reputation in the history of the University of Oxford—a reputation derived partly from passages in Gibbon's autobiography, partly from such pasquinades as *Terræ-Filius*, which reflect personal feeling and the low ideals of an age of satire, often as discreditable to the satirist as to the things and persons satirized. There is, no doubt, another side to the picture : Oxford, in the reigns of Anne and of the first two Georges, was not without scholars and scholarly enthusiasms—not without permanent results for good on the intelligence of England and of the world. Yet, after full justice has been done, it remains true that the Universities, like other institutions in that age, passed through a period of relaxed tension ; that they suffered from pluralist endowment and incompetent tuition ; that scholarship was neither abundant nor profound ; and that there was a miserably

low standard of qualification for degrees—the standard of a time of transition, which had left both the Middle Age and the Renaissance far behind, and had not yet learned either the message or the needs of the new epoch.

Oriel's eighteenth century may be said to lie between 1691, when her first eighteenth-century Provost was elected, and 1781, when the election of John Eveleigh to the Headship ushered in for the college a new era of educational activity which lasted far into the next century. As will soon become evident, the hundred years thus limited were by no means uneventful in the college annals.

Say's successor in the Provostship was Dr. George Royse, who was not without some considerable reputation in his day. Born in Somersetshire, he came to Oxford as a servitor at St. Edmund Hall under Principal Tully, and was afterwards elected Fellow of Oriel about 1675. He took Orders, and, according to Hearne, was "reckon'd a good florid Preacher." In this capacity he attracted the attention of Lord Berkeley, who made him his chaplain. He afterwards became chaplain to King William III., whom he accompanied to Ireland in 1690, having taken his D.D. at Oxford in the same year. He then became domestic chaplain to Archbishop Tillotson, who, in 1691, gave him the Rectory of Newington in Oxfordshire. On December 1 of that year he was chosen Provost of Oriel. In 1694, on the death of W. Levett, he was given the Deanery of Bristol.

A good deal that Hearne has to say about Royse is worth noticing, when due deductions have been made

for nonjuring prejudice against a loyal servant of the new dynasty. Royse's election, it seems, was a surprise and a disappointment. James Davenant had been regarded as the obvious candidate. But "some of y^e Fellows with whom Royse us'd to drink got a majority together at Mother Shepherd's at Heddington, where they agreed to choose Dr. Royse." Hearne admits that he was a man of good parts and "some Learning," and "well read in Pamphletts." But he was "of great Cunning and Design"; ashamed of Edmund Hall, where he had been educated; neglectful of his relations; a "smooth Preacher and rank Whigg"; a heavy drinker, and a man of loose life generally. There is little worthy of note to be recorded during his tenure of the Provostship. He died in 1708, leaving a large number of books to the college library.

Royse's successor was George Carter, and during his reign of nineteen years both the *personnel* and the constitutional history of Oriel are of considerable interest. Carter was of University College, having taken his B.A. degree there in 1693. He was elected Fellow of Oriel in the following year. In 1709, the year after he became Provost, the college presented him to the living of Cholderton in Wilts, the advowson of which had been left to Oriel in 1693 by the will of Thomas Cholwell of Kimpton, Hants, a graduate of the college. He was made Canon of St. Paul's in 1714, and of Peterborough in 1719.

Carter's election was unanimous, and he seems to have been held in general respect. Hearne calls him "a worthy, ingenious, sober Gentleman, and a good Scholar." With him were associated in the member-

ship of Oriel one or two great names, and some others which ought not to be allowed to die. First of all, perhaps, there ought to be mentioned (though the days of his Fellowship were long past) one of the busiest and most prominent men of his age, John Robinson. The mere recital of the parts played by this man in the drama of life is sufficient testimony to his importance: Chaplain to the Swedish Embassy, and Envoy Extraordinary to the Swedish Court; an eminent diplomatist; an eminent divine; Prebendary of Canterbury; Dean of Windsor; Bishop of Bristol; Bishop of London; a Privy Councillor and Lord Privy Seal; with Charles XII. at Narva; the chief negotiator of the Peace of Utrecht. He began his career as a tradesman's apprentice near Darlington. He was sent to Oxford by his master, and educated at Brasenose, where he took his B.A. degree in 1673. Two years later he was elected Fellow of Oriel, and held his Fellowship until 1686, during the rule of Provost Say. In spite of his busy and varied life in the wide fields of the Church and the world, Robinson never forgot Oriel and its needs. In 1719, when he was Bishop of London, he made himself one of the most conspicuous and memorable benefactors of the college. An indenture was drawn up between the Bishop on the one hand and the Provost and Fellows on the other, which set forth that the Bishop had been frequently moved by his late wife, as well as by his own affection, to make a charitable settlement on the college. He learned that its revenues at that time were small, though likely to be increased on the determination of the leases of Wadley and Wickenham; and he therefore gave a sum of £2,500, secured

on the Orphans' Fund Charge on the revenues of the City of London (and either to remain so invested or to be invested otherwise according to the judgment of the college), the income of which was to be expended for the benefit of the college under certain specified conditions. Prior to the determination of the Berkshire leases, seven-tenths of the free income were to be divided among the Provost and Fellows every November 14. At the same date each year a B.A., duly qualified and specially proficient in Logic and Moral Philosophy, was to be elected, and, under the name of Bishop Robinson's Exhibitioner, to enjoy the other three-tenths for three years. In the event of no qualified candidate presenting himself from Oriel, preference was to be given to candidates from Brasenose; and, at every third election, candidates who had come up to Oriel from Charterhouse were to be preferred. At all times the Bishop's own relatives, even if Cambridge men, were to be preferred. As soon as the leases fell in, the three-tenths were to be taken from the Provost and Fellows, and three Exhibitioners were to be elected to enjoy the benefits of that endowment.

Nor did Bishop Robinson's munificence stop here. Within two years from the date of the indenture a building was to be erected on the ground of the college, and—again alike by his wife's request and his own affection—the Bishop was moved to give £750 towards the cost of the said building. In it the new Exhibitioners were to have chambers, bed, plate, and study rent free; while the rest of the building was to be college premises, the college getting also the remaining one-tenth of the free income. In due course the build-

ing came into existence, and is now a prominent part of the college. It forms the eastern boundary of the back quadrangle, and is continuous with, and at right angles to, the building on the north of the front quadrangle which contains the Provost's lodgings. In the middle over the doorway is the following inscription :

Dei Gloriam
 Et bonarum literarum profectum
 Johannes Robinson S.T.P. Episc. Lond.
 Hortante Maria
 Nuper Conjuge ejus amantissima
 Et proprio erga Orienses affectu motus
 Hoc Ædificium F.F.
 Et tres Exhibitiones fundavit
 A.D. MDCCXIX.*

The most famous name connected with Oriel in the teens of the eighteenth century is that of one who was no Fellow, but a commoner who trod, with but small appreciation of the guidance lent to him, the ordinary path to a degree. Joseph Butler, Bishop of Durham, author of the *Sermons on Human Nature* and the *Analogy*, one of the most original philosophic thinkers of England, came from Wantage, his birthplace, and from Nonconformist schools at Gloucester and Tewkesbury, to Oriel in March, 1715, having resolved to shake off the Presbyterian tradition into which he was born, and take Orders in the Church of England. He took

* At the bottom of the tablet there is a Runic line which may be rendered thus: "Maðr er moldar auki," meaning, "Man is the increase of the mould," or "Man is but dust." This inscription also occurs at Cleasby, Yorks, commemorating a benefaction of the Bishop to that place.

his B.A. from the college in 1718. One wishes that Butler could have left behind him a testimony to Oxford education which might be contrasted with that of Gibbon. But he, like Gibbon, was profoundly dissatisfied with the methods of teaching in the University, and was, indeed, haunted by a restless desire to migrate to Cambridge in search of something better. He brings, it is fair to add, no specific charge against his college ; but he writes from Oriel to Dr. Samuel Clarke in September, 1717 :

“We are obliged to misspend so much time here in attending frivolous lectures and unintelligible disputations, that I am quite tired out with such a disagreeable way of trifling ; so that if I can’t be excused from these things at Cambridge, I shall only just keep term there.”

It saves the blushes of an Oxonian to reflect that the migration was never carried out.

In one way, we can be sure that Butler’s connexion with Oriel was of service to him. The *Analogy*, when it appeared in 1736, was dedicated to Lord Chancellor Talbot, and it was at college that Butler had made the acquaintance of the future keeper of the Great Seal. The connexion of the Talbots with Oriel was a family one. William Talbot, Dean of Worcester, and afterwards Bishop successively of Oxford (1699-1715), Salisbury (1715-21), and Durham on the death of Nathaniel Crewe (1722-30), was educated at Oriel, where he took his B.A. degree in 1677. During his tenure of the see of Oxford, Talbot encountered a good deal of criticism from Hearne, of which the character may be surmised from the fact that the Bishop succeeded in the Deanery

of Worcester the nonjuring George Hickes, who remained in nonjuring circles "y^e Dean of Worcester" until his death. According to Hearne, Bishop Talbot

"was a very great Rake all the Time he liv'd in y^e University, and afterwards, when in orders, was very much addicted to Gaming. . . . He, when Dean of Worcester, plaid very much at y^e Royal Oke Lottery, to y^e great Scandal of his Gown and Dignity. He . . . has been twice married, w^{ch} rarely or never us'd to be practis'd by the B^{ps} of y^e Church of England or any other Church."

He had "but a very little smattering of Learning." He made a speech in the House of Lords during the Sacheverell trial, which Hearne characterizes as "a most childish, pitifull, illiterate, and indeed malicious and Republican Whiggish Libell." He also preached the coronation sermon of George I. in 1714, and *that* was "a very poor, silly, flattering stuff, unbecoming a Christian, and a Scholar, and shows him to be a cringing, time-serving Man, and a great Rebell and a Rogue."

Two of Bishop Talbot's sons followed their father to Oriel. The younger, Edward, joined as *commensalis* in 1709, and was elected Fellow in 1712. He became Rector of East Hendred, in Berks, where Butler, after taking Orders, acted as curate for a time, but he attained no greater eminence than that of Archdeacon of Berks and Treasurer of Salisbury. It was otherwise with his elder brother Charles, the friend and patron of Butler. He came up to Oriel, also as a *commensalis*, in 1702, and in 1704 was elected Fellow of All Souls at the age

of eighteen. All Souls had not then its present faultless decorum. It is related that on January 30, 1707, "an abominable riot" was committed there. Talbot and another Fellow

"had a Dinner drest, at 12 Clock, part of which was woodcocks, whose Heads they cut off, in contempt of the memory of the B. Martyr. At this Dinner were present two of the Pro-Proctors of Oriel Coll., Mr. Ibbetson and Mr. Rogers, to their shame be it spoken, both low Church Men."

As to Ibbetson, Hearne adds that he had expressed his sorrow for being involved in such an outrage, asserting that it was at unawares, "w^{ch} perhaps may be true, he being a man of very good sense, tho' it must be allowed that he is a Whig."

Charles Talbot's progress towards the Woolsack was normal and steady. In 1720 he was Solicitor-General, and in the same year entered Parliament. He succeeded King as Lord Chancellor in 1733, with the title Baron Talbot of Hensol, and remained on the woolsack until 1737.

It was through his brother Edward, who, as we have seen, was Fellow of Oriel during Butler's undergraduate time there, that Butler was introduced to Charles, who, on his appointment to the Woolsack, made Butler his chaplain.

Richard Ibbetson (whom we have just seen unwillingly mixed up in the political profanities of 1707 at All Souls) deserves a word of further notice. He was elected Fellow of Oriel from University College in 1700, became Rector of Lambeth and Archdeacon of Exeter,

and died at Canterbury in 1731. He holds a distinct, if humble, place in the scholarship of the time, having helped Hudson in his edition of *Josephus*, and in 1704 published, on his own account, an edition of *Marcus Aurelius* with notes, which he dedicated to Provost Royse. It was he who was chosen to speak at Royse's funeral in the chapel.

A man of considerable mark in his day was William Berriman, one of those Oxford *alumni* of the early eighteenth century on whom the love of linguistic scholarship laid hold. He took his B.A. degree at Oriel in 1708. Though he never was a Fellow, the college may, perhaps, take some of the credit of his early scholarly enthusiasms. Gloucester Ridley, who preached a laudatory funeral sermon after Berriman's death in 1750, caught his distinguishing note.

"Aware of the ridiculousness of that dangerous and troublesome acquisition, *a little learning*, he did not quit the University when yet a novice there, and rush into the world to be a teacher of it, till he had formed his judgment by the complete circle of academical sciences, and the exercise of the Schools."

With that object in view, and being specially attracted towards the history of the Jews, he studied not only Greek, but Hebrew, Chaldee, Syriac, and Arabic. He left Oxford in 1712, was for a time chaplain to Bishop Robinson, held more than one London benefice, and became Fellow of Eton in 1727. He was a learned and influential writer, and Boyle Lecturer (*The Gradual Revelation of the Gospel from the Time of Man's Apostasy set forth and Explained*) 1730-32. He also

wrote on *Primitive Doxologies*. Berriman experienced a strange and unexpected revival within the last twenty years.

“ In July, 1734, Dr. Berriman was consulted upon the case of marrying two sisters, and his resolution of it had the good effect of saving the person who consulted him from engaging in that unlawful connexion.”

Among Marriage Law Defence Union tracts (1884) Dr. Berriman’s “ resolution ” has been reproduced, and has received the *imprimatur* of the most recent upholders of the orthodox view of that matter.

One of the Fellows prominent during Butler’s residence, and for some years after it, represents the specifically poetic element in the college, and his performance illustrates the low standard for minor poetry of the age in which Pope was supreme. Samuel Catherall was elected Fellow in 1715 (having been a commoner of the college, and taken his degree there), and he remained a long time in residence, taking a prominent part in the governing body of the college. His tendency to versification was lamentably strong. The death of Bishop Crewe, of Durham, in 1721 inspired him to write “ in imitation of Waller’s style ”:

“ Like the brave Eagle who his Nest forsakes,
And tow’rds the Sun his Flight undaunted takes, . . .
Just so it far’d with our immortal Crew,
Thro’ Honour’s Stages with wing’d Speed he flew ;
Well poiz’d with Vertue and Nobility,
He stopp’d not, till he grac’d an Ample See.”

More ambitious efforts were “ *Εἰκὼν Σωκρατική*, or a Portraiture of Socrates extracted out of Plato in blank

verse" (1717); and "Cato Major, a Poem upon the Model of Tully's Essay of Old Age," in four books (1725). Catherall held a Canonry at Wells, and was Vicar of Inglishcourt, in Somersetshire, from 1722 to 1764.

Mention should be made of William Hawkins, the lawyer, who was elected Fellow in 1700. He was the author of *Pleas of the Crown*, a work of lasting importance, a copy of which he presented to the college library.

As Oriel had been something of a nest of Lollardism in the fifteenth century, so was it a stronghold of Hanoverian Whiggism in the days when the University was most Jacobite. To the Constitution Club, which was founded to represent Hanoverian principles soon after the accession of George I., Oriel contributed eight members. It was at Oriel that the memorable club supper was held on a Sunday evening in May, 1715, when the Jacobite mob besieged the college, and a Brasenose man was wounded in the affray. We know Hearne's opinion of Provost Carter. There were many other members of the college who incurred similar disapprobation on the like grounds. One pillar of the Whigs was the Rev. Peter Randall, who was elected Fellow in Say's time in 1686, and was Vicar of St. Mary's from 1700 till his death in 1720. According to a newspaper of the time, Randall was witty and satirical in conversation, and conservative and peace-loving in ecclesiastical politics. But, says Hearne :

"As for Peter's being an enemy to faction, it must be understood that he was a mighty friend of K. George's, and an utter enemy of the nonjurors, whom he got silenced

some years ago when they met in St. Mary's parish privately for their devotion. He was indeed facetious, and had some learning, but his head was confused, and he never preached to his text."

Randall was one of the benefactors of Oriel, leaving to it £25 a year. After his death, an Oxford epigrammatist wrote the following for an epitaph :

" Here lies Randal Peter,
Of Oriel, the eater,
Whom death at last has eaten ;
Thus is the biter bitten.
Of him nothing is memorial,
But that he was Fellow of Oriel."

Another leading Oriel Whig was Joseph Bowles. He was educated at St. Mary Hall as a servitor of Dr. Hudson, the Principal, and Bodley's Librarian. He was elected Fellow of Oriel in 1718, and subsequently took Orders, becoming the curate of Thomas Wicksey, who was Randall's successor at St. Mary's. Bowles seems to have quickly become the Provost's right-hand man in college. In 1719 he succeeded Hudson as Bodley's Librarian. Partly as a representative of Whiggism, partly as the most prominent figure in the beloved "Bodley," from which Hearne was now an exile, Bowles came in for double doses of the diarist's ever-ready spleen. Of the election to the Librarianship, Hearne wrote that it was the most scandalous he had yet heard of in Oxford. Bowles was "a pert, conceited coxcomb," and, as it were, "illiterate." Hearne proceeds :

"Alas! underhand Dealing had been used long for Bowles (who had the impudence to intrude into my place,

and hath still got those new keys that Dr. Hudson got made for him, whereas I have still the old ones.) . . . As for my own part, I was desired by several to appear . . . but this I declined absolutely.”

Bowles had broken his word to another Oriel Fellow to whom he had promised the under-Librarianship, “for which he is strangely scouted and despised at Oriel as a breaker of his word, and a whiffling, silly, unfaithful coxcomb.”

Of the Fellows in residence at this time, Hearne's only favourite, and the chief purveyor of college gossip to him, seems to have been Richard Dyer, who had been admitted as commoner in 1669, and elected Fellow in 1673. Dyer was both learned and modest: he published nothing with his name; but he was so good a botanist that he was given the refusal of the Chair of Botany. He contributed anonymously to the third volume of the Oxford *Historia Plantarum*, and wrote also a life of Morison. As early as 1685 Dyer showed his devotion to plants by giving eight Virginian cedars to Oriel, which were planted “in the Grove” on March 5. He retained his Fellowship until 1729, the year before his death. The Virginian cedars were not his only benefaction to his college. In 1720 he contributed £300 towards the purchase of the advowson of Ufton Nervet in Berkshire, in the valley of the Kennet to the south-west of Reading; and he gave £85 17s. for laying out the gardens of the college, and £109 13s. 6d. towards the improvement of the college fabric. Nor was even this all, as we shall find. Dyer's withdrawal from Oxford to Devonshire was a trial to Hearne, and his

death speedily followed it. Hearne laments over his old friend :

“A very healthful man, a great walker, and had not he married in his old age, but lived in Oxford after his old way, he might have lived much longer, and been a very great benefactor to his college ; but the broils in the college forced him to retire.”

To these broils, which disturbed the last half-dozen years of Carter's tenure of the Provostship, we must presently turn.

In the summer of 1717 the peace of the college was shaken by a murder, one commoner named Bull having stabbed another. “The gentleman that committed this barbarous murder,” reports Hearne ominously, “is a Whig”; and he probably believed that it was because the Government of England was Hanoverian that the crime was treated as mere manslaughter at the assizes.

At any rate, the murder had nothing to do with college politics ; but the next disagreeable sensation, a suicide in 1721, was a shadow of troubles and broils within the Society. Let Hearne again report (November 9, 1721):

“Yesterday morning a Bedmaker, going to make the Bed of Thomas Ward, A.M., and one of the Senior Fellows of Oriel, found him dead upon the Floor, and his Head shot through.”

It was evidently suicide ; but why ? Ward was a cheerful man of about forty, with an excellent character, though he had shown signs of melancholy of late.

“What affected him I know not, unless some Disturbances in the late election of Fellows, when he espous'd

the interest of those that were against the Provost's Party."

Nay, two months later, Dyer brought a serious charge against Joseph Bowles :

"He" (Bowles) "was the chief Incendiary in our college, and was the occasion of Tom Ward's shooting himself. For being great with Ward, Mr. Ward intrusted him with his secrets, all which Bowles betrayed, particularly what related to the late Business of the election."

What was all this pother about? What constitutional difficulties could possibly lead to such tragic results?

Silent as he might be, Provost Carter could act to practical purpose. We remember Provost Say and the trouble he gave over elections to Fellowships, and the decree of Bishop Fuller in 1674. In 1722 Fuller's decree was embodied in a statute which strictly regulated all proceedings at elections. But Carter was bent on walking in Say's footsteps. In July, 1721, there were elections to two Fellowships, vacant by the death of Peter Randall and the resignation of one Edward Beckham (who in the previous year had been a candidate for the Camden Professorship of Ancient History, but had "desisted" before the election, when Harrison of All Souls was appointed). The Fellowships were both restricted to candidates born in the diocese of Worcester. There were three candidates—William Makepeace, of Merton; Robert Bernard, of Merton; and Henry Edmunds, of Jesus—and there was a college of twelve. As to the eligibility of Makepeace there was no doubt; he was born at Warwick, undeniably in the Worcester diocese. Bernard, however, was born at Tormarton,

which had been in the diocese of Gloucester since the creation of that see by Henry VIII.; and the question arose whether that creation rendered him ineligible under a statute made previous to it. Edmunds was born in the diocese of Bangor; but the college was strongly in his favour. When the vote for filling Beckham's place was taken, nine of the twelve Fellows nominated Edmunds, and three Bernard; but, in spite of the majority, the Provost declared Bernard elected, as being, at all events, nearer statutory requirements than Edmunds. For the other vacancy, nine supported Bernard, and three Makepeace; but in this case the Provost acted similarly, and insisted on the election of the latter.

Edmunds promptly appealed to Bishop Gibson of Lincoln as Visitor, who, on November 24, decided in favour of the Provost, on the ground that, so far as the college was concerned, the diocese of Worcester must be held to have the limits attached to it before Henry VIII.'s creation of the Gloucester bishopric.

Two years later the difficulty recurred in an aggravated form. At Easter, 1723, there were five vacant Fellowships. Five candidates, of whom Edmunds was one, were chosen by a clear majority of the college, and again the Provost refused to admit. The five (Henry Edmunds, Philip Pipon, James Parker, Samuel Martin, and Robert Fysher) appealed to the Visitor, now Bishop Richard Reynolds. On this incident Hearne comments with something more than his ordinary causticity:

"Dr. Carter" (he writes, under date August 8, 1723)
". . . is justly look'd upon as a vile man and a sneaking Hypocrite, which last name Mr. Dyer called him to his

face lately, upon account of his most scandalous behaviour in an election of Fellows, when there were 6 electors to 4. Yet the Provost would not allow that 6 were more than 4, but insisted upon a strangely unheard of negative voice, so as to make 4 carry the point agst 6, and the matter is now before the Visitor, to the great injury of the College; and 'tis observable that that pitiful silly Rascal Bowles is one of those that stuck in, and keeps now pace with the Provost, who, however, cares for Bowles no more than as a tool."

On October 2 the Bishop decided that the assent of the Provost was essential to a valid election; and, along with the formal decision, Reynolds sent a letter to the Provost and Fellows, dated October 4, 1723, in which he explained his attitude.

"My very good Friends" (he wrote), "they were no very pleasing reflections I made on y^e extent and circumstances of my new Dioces, upon my being called, at my first enterance into it, to settle a controverted election in y^r College."

The Bishop had taken the advice of three learned Canonists, and of "divers others learned in y^e laws and of high rank," etc., before giving his decision. He reminded the college of one unexpected consequence of the decision—viz., that of common right the collation of the vacant Fellowships devolved on him. But he professed himself content, for peace's sake, to waive his right, and leave the nomination to the Provost and the majority of the Fellows.

Commenting on this decision, Hearne writes (November 28, 1723):

"Reynolds, a Cambridge man who does not understand Latin . . . sent down his mandamus to admit three of his

own nomination, and two more kept in reserve for another time. Accordingly his mandamus was read in Chappel on Tuesday morning the 19th of this month, but protested against by the former electors, the Protest being read by Mr. Dyer, after which the Protesters all went out, and so none remained in Chappel but the Provost and his vile assistant Bowles. The Provost called to one of the Protesters to bring in the Bachelors, but they having protested, everyone declined. Upon which Bowles said he would fetch them in, and thereupon went out of y^e Chappel, leaving the Provost by himself; and bringing them in they were admitted by only these two, the Provost and Bowles, and the legally elected men were ejected. The three intruders are one Lane of Merton Coll., one Copping of Oriel, and one Dewy (who never stood nor ever was examined) of Oriel. After this was over, Bowles, like a poor, sorry Rascal as he is, made great Rejoicings, and took y^e three Intruders into the Common Room at night, where, however, nobody else was with them—a thing against Custom and Practice for Bachelor Fellows to come there.”

Hearne does not exaggerate the resistant feeling of the Fellows against these proceedings of the Provost and the Visitor. A formal protest was issued in November, in which the subscribers asserted that their object was “to conserve and keep the rights, liberties, and privileges which our predecessors . . . have immemorially, peaceably, and quietly enjoyed till on or about the 27th day of July, 1721, and the 19th day of April, 1723.” They protested against the admission of any nominees of the Bishop

“on Pretence that the Collating to or disposing of vacant fellowships in the said College devolves to him in

case that the Provost and fellows disagree at the time of election, and particularly against the admission of Copping, Dewy, and Lane . . . by virtue of such pretended power of Collation."

This protest was signed by six of the Fellows, and they associated with themselves Dyer, of whom we now know a good deal, and Walter Hodges, Carter's successor in the Provostship.

Such were the kind of troubles at Oriel which were supposed to make a Fellow shoot himself; and, indeed, they meant schism and mischief. But the critical struggle was yet to come. At the Easter election in 1724 the painful situation was repeated. There were two vacancies, and two appointments by a majority of eight to two of the Fellows; and again the Provost exercised his "negative voice." Bowles and Makepeace were the two consentients with the Provost. This time the opposition took a more vigorous, and, as it turned out, an ultimately more successful line. Edmunds, for the third time a disappointed candidate, at once brought an action against the college in the Court of Common Pleas. His object was to establish the authority of the original statutes of January, 1326, according to which the King, through his Chancellor, was the Visitor. When the case came into Court it was almost immediately determined that the Bishop of Lincoln was not the local but only the diocesan Visitor. "In this affair," says Hearne, "Serjeant Skinner," the Recorder of Oxford, "did the college very great service."

The case was tried before Eyre, C. J., three puisne judges—one of them, Tracy, being an old Oriel man—and a special jury; and the final judgment was given on

May 14, 1726. It was a complete victory for Edmunds and the majority of the Fellows.

Hearne's gossip is abundant at this stage :

"The hearing" of the case "lasted 12 hours. The two Appellants, viz., Mr. Henry Edmunds and Mr. Parkhurst" (*sic* for Parker) "of Brasenose, were declared Fellows, and a shilling damage was assigned, so that now they may sue for costs. . . . This is a great confusion to the Provost, who hath not only lost his negative by this (a thing he much insisted upon, what was never done before in the college), but hath likewise made the Bishop of Lincoln lose his dictatorial Power of that college. . . . Had Carter succeeded, other Heads would have also insisted upon a negative, and then there would have been an end of all Elections. . . . Mr. Dyer hath been so great a Friend in this business, that some time since I heard several of the Fellows say that if they had carried their point against the Provost, they ought to reckon Mr. Dyer a Restorer of their college."

Thus was the controversy between the two sets of statutes set at rest in favour of the earlier of the two ; and thus did the Bishop of Lincoln cease to be Visitor of Oriel. The decision took effect in July, 1726, when seven rejected candidates were admitted—namely, Edmunds and the four who were associated with him, and the two rejected in 1724. A curious incident occurred at the admission. Let us hear Hearne's version of it first :

"July 19, 1726.—Yesterday the ejected Fellows of Oriel were restored upon their petition in the Chappel, but the Provost declined doing it, and went out of the Chappel with one other Fellow, Bowles, I think, upon

which the Senior Fellow, Dr. Woodward, did it, the rest of the Fellows being present, and approving what was done. I hear the Provost declined it unless the ejected Fellows would show an Instrument for doing it from the Crown and the Visitor, as he calls the Bishop of Lincoln."

In other words, the Provost stood to his guns to the last. In refusing to take any part himself in the admission, he did not, indeed, dispute the decision of the Court of Common Pleas, but he drew a subtle distinction between His Majesty and His Majesty's judges, maintaining that if the Crown was the Visitor, he was bound to obey only the Crown.

Carter did not survive his defeat much more than a year. He died on September 30, and was buried on October 4 in the chapel, where there is a tablet to his memory, erected many years after by Provost Eveleigh. Wicksey, the Vicar of St. Mary's, told Hearne that the judicial decision against the "negative voice" had broken Provost Carter's heart. Wicksey admitted, however, that he was charitable and of respectable learning. Dyer, with his long experience, was heard to say that he had taken part in the election of Fellows since 1675, and that these were the first occasions on which the Provost had voted.

Hearne's own estimate of Carter wavers. Writing after his death, he says :

"When he was elected Provost, he bore a tolerably good character, but afterwards he acted very knavishly in the college. He was a single man, and had much preferment, tho' his Places were not very high, w^{ch}, however, brought in a great sum yearly, w^{ch} occasioned one to say that Dr. Carter built long but his building spread. He mightily

desired a Bishoprick, and would have done (as plainly appeared) anything whatsoever for one. He was rich when he was elected Provost, which was indeed one considerable reason of their electing him, thinking he might prove a Benefactor; and, indeed, I hear that he hath left them very considerably."

Whatever might be said about Carter's principles or practice, there could be no doubt about his affection for the college. His benefactions were considerable. In the first place, he and Bishop Robinson between them procured the attachment to the Provostship of a prebend at Rochester. Secondly, he left £1,000 towards the better endowment of the Headship, which sum was spent in the purchase in 1730 of the advowson of Purleigh in Essex. Thirdly, he followed Bishop Robinson's example in adding to the college premises, leaving directions and funds for the erection of a building on the west side of the back quadrangle opposite and corresponding to Robinson's building, the foundation-stone of which was laid on March 31, 1729. Lastly, he made the college his residuary legatee.

The next election to the Provostship was a disputed one—the last instance of the kind in the college history. The two candidates were Walter Hodges and Thomas Wicksey, the Vicar of St. Mary's. Wicksey had been Hodges' pupil. According to Hearne, he had been aiming at the Headship for some years; but there was a majority for Hodges. Bowles, Hearne says, who was Wicksey's curate at St. Mary's, worked hard for his Vicar, but he was too closely identified with Carter's party to succeed. By the original statutes, whose authority had been restored by the recent decision of

the Court of Common Pleas, unanimity was necessary to the election of a Provost, and, therefore, Hodges' majority did not end the matter. The confirmation of the Lord Chancellor had to be sought and obtained in order that the election might take effect, or rather, when there was a divided college, the confirmation constituted the election. Lord King, the Chancellor, when the matter was referred to him, decided in favour of Hodges.

Hodges was well off and a good scholar. But Wicksey chafed under the first of these qualifications, "which reason," says Hearne, "is much laughed at." Wicksey did not behave magnanimously as a disappointed candidate, but proved himself a thorn in the side of the college. For one thing, he held a living worth £19, which brought him under the penalties of *uberius beneficium*. For another, he kept the Dean's Register in his possession, and contumaciously refused to restore it, though three times ordered to do so. Yet again he failed to do his duty as Provost Carter's executor. These things happened in the summer and autumn of 1728. Accordingly, on October 22, the Register records that Wicksey was expelled from the Society, ostensibly because of *uberius beneficium*, though the other offences were undeniably in the background. The culprit, however, refused to be thus extinguished. He straightway appealed to Lord Chancellor King, the Visitor, who in June, 1729, replied in his favour so far as the Fellowship was concerned. He found, indeed, that Wicksey's chief complaint was the substitution of the Crown for the Bishop of Lincoln as Visitor, which was, of course, baseless; but he contented himself

with advising Wicksey to obey Provost Hodges in future, while he declared the college to have been over-harsh with him, and expressed his desire that he should be restored to his Fellowship. Hearne attributes this action of the Lord Chancellor's to his "having never been of any University," and knowing "nothing of college affairs." Anyhow, he cut the various knots, and tried to satisfy everybody all round, on the one hand, by declaring that when Wicksey was ejected there was no "warden," and therefore the ejection was illegal; and, on the other, by making Hodges "warden" and restoring Wicksey to his Fellowship. Notwithstanding all this, the college in December ejected Wicksey again on the ground of *uberius beneficium*, which no Visitor could override, and thus secured the last word.

In this same month of December, 1729, Hearne's enemy, Joseph Bowles, died; and Oriel furnished his successor in Bodley's Librarianship. The three candidates were Hearne's successor in the sub-librarianship, Francis Wise, Fellow of Trinity, Keeper of the Archives; Bilstone, of All Souls, the janitor, "who hath got the new keys made in opposition to the old ones I have by me"; and Robert Fysher, B.M., Fellow of Oriel. Bilstone withdrew, and the struggle lay between Wise and Fysher. Wise got all the Whig support, but Fysher was elected by a majority of 100 to 85. The Canons of Christ Church supported the Whig candidate. Fysher's political opinions secured him mild approbation from Hearne.

The troublesome Wicksey being got rid of, and Hodges being well settled in the Provostship, the

college settled down into its normal eighteenth century tranquillity, a tranquillity which lasted throughout the reigns of Hodges and his two successors, Chardin Musgrave and John Clarke. During those reigns there were no constitutional developments or crises of any kind; and the interest of the college centres in the reputation of some of its members, and in certain additions to its property and educational resources.

During the first half of Hodges' reign few specially eminent names appear, either among the undergraduate members or among the Fellows, whether educated at Oriel or elsewhere. In January, 1740, Joseph Warton was admitted commoner, and in March, 1744, he took his Bachelor's degree. Joseph Warton is a very interesting man on his own account, and he was a member of a very interesting family. His father, Thomas Warton, who died in 1745, the year after Joseph took his degree, was Vicar of Basingstoke and Professor of Poetry at Oxford from 1718 to 1728. His younger brother, Thomas, became a Fellow of Trinity, Professor of Poetry in 1757, and Camden Professor of Ancient History in 1777. He won a permanent and honourable place in English literature by his *Observations on the Faerie Queene of Spenser* (1754), and his *History of English Poetry* (1774-1781). Even with such a brother, Warton of Oriel maintained a distinct literary individuality. He associated himself with that deliberate revolt against the supremacy of Pope which quickly followed his death in 1745. Two years after his degree he published Odes designed to exemplify better poetic methods than those hitherto dominant; and, in 1756, the first volume of

his *Essay on the Writings and Genius of Pope*, which was, for its age, a daring reassertion of the supremacy of Spenser and Milton in English poetry, and which made a distinct epoch in literary criticism. Joseph Warton, unlike his brother Thomas, did not enter on tutorial work at Oxford, nor did he hold a Fellowship. He became Rector of Winslade, near Basingstoke, and was Headmaster of Winchester from 1766 to 1793. He died in 1800.

With Warton was associated, both at school and college, a man of wider fame. His father, the Vicar of Basingstoke, had also a school there, at which Gilbert White, of Selborne, was the companion of his two sons. White, like Joseph Warton, went to Oriel, where he entered as commoner a month earlier—on December 17, 1739. White's life, in spite of its great and clear fame, is curiously wanting in unity. In so far, however, as its centre was not Selborne, it may be said to have been Oriel. White did not come into residence in college until November, 1740. He took his B.A. in 1743, and was elected Fellow with Chardin Musgrave, of Edenhall in Cumberland, in March, 1744. From 1740 to 1760, White, while moving about in all directions, was closely, though intermittently, associated with Oriel. He was ordained in 1747, and from that date until 1752 the college saw nothing of him. In 1752 he was back in Oxford as Proctor, and became Dean of Oriel. His first entry as Dean in the Register is dated November 14, 1752, and his last, April 27, 1753. Although he disappears again at this point, White's identification with and his reputation in the college was very marked. It was put to the test when Provost

Hodges died in 1757. White and Chardin Musgrave were the most prominent Fellows. White had a great college friend and close correspondent in John Mulso, who afterwards held prebendal stalls both at Salisbury and Winchester. A large number of Mulso's letters to White have been preserved, and from them we can learn something, though not much, as to the currents of feeling in the Oriel common-room at that time. As early as February, 1755, Mulso had referred to a "perverse party" in college, *i.e.*, a party opposed to White and his claims. He had been told, he writes to his friend, "that Dr. Hodges was dead, and you was going to be Provost in his room"; and two months later he writes: "You give me pleasure, hearing of the stand against the perverse party at Oriel."

When Hodges really did die, Chardin Musgrave was elected Provost with the necessary formal unanimity, though there was a party who would have preferred White. Mulso wrote to White after the election: "As you have not been the man on this occasion, I am not sorry for Chardin's success." White, it seems, had been somewhat backward in preferring his claim. "With regard to the affair at Oriel, I heartily wish you had put yourself up from the beginning, if anything that we could have done could have given you success."

That particular door being closed to White, he accepted from the college the small living of Moreton Pinkney in 1757, tenable with his Fellowship. This he took with the avowed intention of not residing, and the new Provost did not like it, though he behaved with great magnanimity. Under date December 15, 1757, he wrote in his memorandum-book:

“Moreton Pinkney given to Mr. White . . . though without his intention of serving it, and not choosing to waive his claim, though Mr. Land could have accepted it upon the other more agreeable terms to the society. I agreed to this to avoid any possibility of a misconstruction of partiality.”

So much for the scandal of non-residence. As to that of *uberius beneficium*, Musgrave was equally doubtful and equally magnanimous. To quote again from his memorandum-book under date November 1, 1758 :

“I hinted to Mr. White’s friends that I was ignorant what his circumstance really was, but suppose his estate incompatible, and beg’d he might be informed that if a year of grace was not applied for in the regular time it would not be granted.”

It is evident, however, that the Provost’s active scruples were afterwards set at rest.

The truth is that White at this time seems to have been really poor, and his friends were anxious for more adequate provision for him. In February, 1759, we find Mulso asking the Provost what the college intended to do for White. The answer was such that Mulso could report to his friend : “It was in your own breast to keep or leave your Fellowship, for nobody meant to turn you out if you did not choose it yourself.” The upshot, as we have seen, was that White did keep his Fellowship all the time he was building himself his everlasting name in the woods and fields at Selborne, but Oriel did nothing more for him. Soreness of feeling between him and the Provost seems gradually to

have disappeared. In January, 1761, we find Mulso writing :

“The Provost and you begin to have your own feels for one another, such as you had before competition divided you . . . and as I know you have the good of the foundation at heart, it will make you forget what was disagreeable in his election.”

When Musgrave suddenly died in January, 1768, there was some faint expectation that White might be made Provost, but it came “to nothing.”

Among members contemporary with White, Musgrave and Joseph Warton, hardly any, perhaps, deserve special mention except William Gerard Hamilton, the early patron of Edmund Burke. Hamilton was admitted *commensalis* in March, 1745, but he took no degree. Even before his admission and matriculation he had entered at Lincoln's Inn, and his career was essentially Parliamentary. He entered Parliament in 1754, and in the following year, on November 13, he made the “single speech”* by which he is most widely known, and was Member successively for Petersfield, Pontefract, Wareham, and Wilton. He was Chancellor of the Irish Exchequer from 1763 to 1784. “Single Speech Hamilton” gave some practical proof of his regard for Oriel by presenting the college with £12 in 1749. John Egerton, afterwards Bishop of Hereford, and still more renowned as Bishop of Durham, matriculated at Oriel in 1740. In Durham Bishop Egerton won fame not only by reconstructing the bridge between

* So says tradition. For the correct version of the facts see the *Dictionary of National Biography*.

Newcastle and Gateshead, and by reclaiming fen-country, but by renewing the charter of the city.

The college continued to represent very fairly the clergy and the landed gentry. One aristocratic connexion, charged with important consequences, was that with the ducal family of Beaufort. Henry, the third Duke, died in February, 1745, and early in March Provost Hodges received the following letter from his brother and successor in the Dukedom :

“ D^R S^R

“ The great Concern I have suffered from the late unhappy Event in my Family, and the Multiplicity of Business it has necessarily caused me, have prevented my acquainting you sooner with a Benefaction my poor Brother has given to your College. . . . He has left one Hundred Pound and charged upon his Estate at Sapworth in Wilts to be paid Quarterly for the support of Four Scholars, who are to enjoy it 7 years, and to be nominated out of the Counties of Gloucester, Monmouth and Glamorgan by the Lords of the Manor of Badminton for ever. I shall do every thing that lies in my Power to promote this laudable Encouragement of Learning, and am particularly glad *he* has thought of a Foundation, for which no one can have a greater Regard than D^r S^r

“ Y^r most obedient

“ humble Serv^t

“ Brook Street,

“ BEAUFORT.

“ Mar. 5. 1744/5.”

The Provost's answer is not forthcoming, but on March 21 the Duke wrote again :

“ If I had no other reason for showing myself a Friend to Oriel College, I can't forbear it on account of the hand-

some manner in which you and the residing Fellows have received the Benefaction my poor Brother left to it. But as many others may be join'd to it, I shall ever be ready to do what lyes in my Power to promote its welfare and Prosperity. I send you enclosed a Transcript of my Brother's Will."

The details of the bequest do not add much to the summary in the Duke's letter. The nomination of the four beneficiaries was to be subject to the approval of the Provost and Fellows, otherwise the Lords of the Manor of Badminton were to have the sole right of appointment; and only in default of such appointment was the college to nominate. The "scholars" were to obey the college in all respects, and "untill they have taken some Degree in the University constantly wear such Gowns as Schollars in Colleges usually wear"; and they were, of course, to be liable to expulsion by the college in case of gross misbehaviour.

"Nevertheless" (the Will proceeds) "in Case any or either of the said four Schollars for the time being shall at any time hereafter be Expelled or removed from the said College by the s^d Provost and Fellows . . . and such Schollar or Schollars shall afterwards within one Month after they shall be so removed and Expelled procure him or themselves to be duly Admitted a Member or Members of any other College in the University of Oxford, and the Lord or Lords of the said Manor of Badminton for the time being shall think such Schollar or Schollars . . . deserving of having his or their Share or Shares of the said yearly Sum of One Hundred Pounds continued and be paid to him or them for the Remainder of the Seven Years for which he or they would have continued to be Schollar or

Schollars of the said College if he or they had not been so removed or Expelled, that then no other Person or Persons shall be Elected or Nominated in the Room of such Schollar or Schollars, but such Schollar and Schollars shall receive and be paid his and their Share and Shares of the said One Hundred Pounds for the Remainder of the said Seven Years, Provided he and they continue to be a Member or Members of such other College or Colleges."

The Beaufort Exhibitioners, as the four "Scholars" have always been called, continue exactly as they were constituted by the bequest. The bequest itself is remarkable, inasmuch as the testator was a member of University, and not of Oriel.

In 1765 came another bequest, which resulted in the foundation of two more Exhibitions. Mistress Elizabeth Ludwell, sister of Provost Carter, who had an estate in Kent, and whose will was proved in January, 1765, left a sum for two Exhibitioners from that county, and two were elected in June of that year.

The rule of Provost John Clark, who was elected in 1768 on the death of Musgrave, and who held office until 1781, was a period of dignity and repose for the college; of repose because there were no sensational events, of dignity, because, in the eighteenth century at Oxford, dull annals were an almost infallible indication of creditable behaviour. Throughout those years Oriel pursued a level path of steady usefulness, avoiding scandal, escaping internal dissension, sending forth into the English world, chiefly of the Church and the squirearchy, good specimens of undistinguished English manhood.

Clark, who, besides, presumably, a patient continu-

ance in well-doing, has left no memorial behind him, was a Pembroke man, who was elected to a Fellowship at Oriel in 1755. We remember that when Musgrave died there was some hope among Gilbert White's friends that he might be his successor. However, at the election of Clark on February 8, 1768, we find White taking part in the unanimous act, and all goes smoothly to the end of his reign.

Among the names of Fellows elected while Clark was Provost there is only one which carries with it anything of historic significance, and that is the name of John Eveleigh. As his chief repute belongs to the coming age, it will be well to deal continuously with his career in the next chapter, the great chapter of Oriel's recent fame.

CHAPTER VII

THE NINETEENTH CENTURY (1781-1882)

John Eveleigh, 1781-1814 ; Edward Copleston, 1814-28 ;
Edward Hawkins, 1828-82

ON the threshold of the nineteenth century every college historian must needs pause to gird up his loins for a somewhat laborious task. For that century has been as fruitful, or at least as revolutionary, at Oxford and Cambridge as it has been in the history of England and of the world. For the Universities it has been a period of momentous organic change, culminating in the great events of 1850-57, in which the reforms of the early years of the century and those between 1871 and 1877 take a hardly inferior place. For the Universities, the century, as a whole, is the third of three great epochs, of which the other two are the Chancellorship of Leicester and the Chancellorship of Laud.

So much is evident. But the historians of the colleges, while they can by no means ignore movements and changes in the University, while they must never fail to take stock of them and estimate them aright, are primarily concerned with institutions distinct

from the University in which they exist. It is the constitutional independence of the University and the colleges, combined with their constant mutual influence, which furnishes to the historian the chief difficulty with which he has to contend. To take one instance. Such a change in the system of examinations for degrees as was made in the early years of the nineteenth century could not fail, sooner or later, to lead to important changes in the spirit and methods of the colleges. On the other hand, the success of the honours system depended almost entirely upon the teaching which the colleges were able to supply, each from its own resources. Again, the duplex character of so many academic phenomena at Oxford and Cambridge, which so incurably puzzles the foreigner, has even for those who are natives this constant difficulty, that in the University and the colleges the personal element is of such unequal strength. The personnel of the University and of the colleges is the same. Yet the same man may be an autocrat in his college and a cipher in convocation; he may be the most influential of college tutors, and, as a University professor, may lecture to empty benches; yet more, he may be a supreme authority in common-room, and unknown by sight both to the undergraduates of his own college and his fellows in the University legislature. The foreigner will never fully understand such things; the historian, educated among them, may be pardoned if he fails to explain them perfectly.

To the historian of nineteenth century Oriel these difficulties present a peculiarly formidable aspect. To the desultory inquirer into the life of Oxford in that century no name is more familiar than that of Oriel—



From a photograph by the]

THE HALL

[Oxford Camera Club



no name, perhaps, carries with it such an aroma, has such an echo. It is the historian's business to analyze that aroma and account for that echo. If the popular belief in the importance of Oriel in the present century can be justified, in what did the importance consist? Rumour makes Oriel the nursery and early home of what it is pleased to call "the Oxford Movement." If the rumour is true, what was "the Oxford Movement," and how did it come to be associated with Oriel? Was it more than a theological and ecclesiastical movement accidentally associated with a particular rendezvous of kindred spirits? or was it in any sense an academic and tutorial movement, dependent for at least some of its inspiration on sources inherent in one particular college system? May there not have been more "Oxford Movements" than one, coincident in time, perhaps, but diverse in nature, of which Oriel, either by inherent fitness or by happy accident, became the nursing-mother?

From none of these questions can the historian of Oriel wholly turn away; with none of them can he deal adequately within the limits of such a sketch as the present. Something will be gained at the outset, and the subsequent task will be made easier, if writer and readers begin by realizing firmly that one of the great academic phenomena of the century at Oxford has been a remarkable development of the tutorial system, and that with one of the phases of that development Oriel was conspicuously associated. For the sake of those who have little or no personal experience of the English Universities it may be desirable here to explain that the tutorial system is that

system by which the student is subjected, so far as his studies are concerned, and also, to some extent, so far as his general behaviour and welfare are concerned, to the supervision and direction of one teacher, who lives—at least, in theory—within the same building with his pupils, and to whom they have regular and frequent, if not practically unlimited, freedom of access. This system, wholly distinct from that of the University professorships, is the distinguishing English academic feature; and it is an essential part of the college system, by which small independent societies, each possessing complete *αὐτάρκεια*, undertook to receive students within their walls, and to fit them for University degrees. It is evident that such a system, in which the personal element counts for so much, must be peculiarly sensitive to changes in the intellectual, moral, and social atmosphere. In a sluggish and self-pleasing age it is hardly likely to develop asceticism or altruism; in an age of revolution and of controversy it is certain, sooner or later, to lend itself to the propagation of serious change. A succession of dignified professors may have an air of detachment from the flux of things; but the tutor, who makes his applications of Plato or Hegel over a pipe at a cosy fireside or in the easy conversational atmosphere of a college lecture-room or of a reading-party in some pastoral solitude, has special opportunities of turning eternal truths into current coin bearing many devices, some of them most individual and unexpected.

If one could have foreseen the character of the nineteenth century, it would have been easy to predict that the century would either, in some pet of reform,

abolish the tutorial system, as too indeterminate for an age tending more and more towards rigidity and uniformity of method, or would witness a great revival and development of it. It may be said broadly that the revival and development which actually took place had two great phases : one in the early part of the century, which is specially associated with Oriel ; and one in the latter half of the century, which is primarily associated with Balliol.

This tutorial movement at Oriel was the real Oxford movement connected with the college on which its historian has most reason to dwell. The succession of eminent tutors in the college from the days of Eveleigh to the days of Hawkins was the direct result of that openness of the Fellowships to which we have so often had reason to allude—an openness which made Oriel, beyond any other college, sensitive to, and representative of, the most eminent and various talent which the University had to offer, and the benefits of which, as we shall see, were greatly extended by the way in which elections to Fellowships were conducted. The eminent tutors attracted promising undergraduates and helped their promise to issue in performance ; and thus the college built up a solid and lasting intellectual reputation. That reputation was at its height long before there was any thought of Tractarianism or even any premonition of a High Church revival. Its material was of a wholly different quality. There ran in the common-room, when the century was in its teens, a spirit of inquiry—an almost sceptical leaven. When the High Church revival began to stir and to move the minds of able men at Oxford, it

could not but visit Oriel, where so many able men were congregated; it could not but pass into the common-room and enter partly into antagonism, partly into strange union, with the restless dialectic prevalent there. But for one circumstance, however, it might be argued that the High Church movement, in so far as it led to the Tractarian propaganda, stifled Oriel's pre-eminence rather than fostered it. For "the movement," which involved so many eminent Oriel men, failed at a critical moment to take possession of the college as a whole. The election to the Provostship in 1828 of Edward Hawkins rather than John Keble was significant of the fact that when the combustibles, all over the University, were nearly ready for the match, Oriel as a whole would have no hand in applying it. When the blaze was ready to spring up, there came, first, an enfeebling schism in the college, and then a decline in vogue and power. The intellectual pre-eminence of the college was gone.

It has been said there was one thing which prevented all this from wholly happening; there was one prerogative of Oriel which almost justifies the popular view that she owes her fame to Tractarianism; and that prerogative was her long possession of John Henry Newman. Though he passed his undergraduate days elsewhere, Newman came to Oriel on the wings of his first academic success; at Oriel he pieced together his early creed; at Oriel he acquired and used, long before he knew, his vast personal power over the minds of men; from the pulpit of St. Mary's, Oriel's own church, he revolutionized English religious thought; to Oriel he returned from his Italian tour with its weird experiences,

its delirious forebodings; at Oriel he composed his "Tracts for the Times"; Oriel held him until every mooring was loosened, and he set sail for strange seas. No man more earnestly than Newman himself repudiated his parentage of the Tractarian movement. Yet it is impossible not to feel that, however the movement might have fared without Newman, it is to him that it owes its chief power and charm for the observer who is not a partisan. If any one ghost more than another haunts the precincts of St. Mary's College it must be the ghost of Newman; and while that presence is there, the popular feeling about Oriel will never be wholly changed.

So much it may have been well to say by way of anticipation and introduction. We must now proceed with our story, from which the reader will draw his own conclusions.

The reign of John Eveleigh (1781-1814) represents two centuries, and falls naturally into two divisions—the period before the organization of honours examinations, and the period after it. The Statute of 1801 was that "by which the studies of the University were first raised from their abject state." Its chief, or, at least, its most striking, provision was the institution of class-lists, of which the first appeared at Easter, 1802; and, by universal consent, the chief author of this change was Provost Eveleigh. Or perhaps a more striking dividing-line would be 1795, the year of Edward Copleston's election as Fellow. Before Copleston's election Oriel was under the old régime. It was by the influence of Copleston, first as tutor and then as Provost, that the college entered on her inheritance of renown.

We realize the scope of Eveleigh's period when we reflect that among the Fellows who elected him was Gilbert White, and that among those who elected his successor were Richard Whately and John Keble. As to Eveleigh's personality and career there is a disappointing scantiness of evidence in detail; there only hangs about his name a tradition of sweet and wholesome savour. The undoubted facts of his life are simple. He was of Winkley, in Devonshire, and was born in or about 1748. He matriculated at Wadham, and took his B.A. degree from there in 1770. The same year he was elected to a Fellowship at Oriel. He became Dean of his college in 1775, and Vicar of St. Mary's in 1778. In 1792 he was Bampton Lecturer. His Bampton Lectures may, of course, still be read; and there are other published sermons, from which one gathers an impression of dignified and conventional, rather uninspired and uninspiring composition. His face, as it appears in the fine portrait in the Oriel common room, is intelligent, gentle, and handsome. Thomas Mozley—"that amusing rattle," as Matthew Arnold called him—reported that the neighbourhood of his living at Plymtree was full of Eveleighs; that they were all like the Provost's portrait; had fair complexions and light hair, and were "mild, inoffensive, and unambitious." He also implies that they were for the most part of humble station. One may transcribe a little more of Mozley's gossip in default of more solid testimony:

"They (the Eveleighs) are all strangely fond of light blue. The school-children of the name—boys and girls—were sure to have blue about them, and I could not pass

their cottages without seeing a blue rag on the road. Meeting a carpenter of the name in a neighbouring village, a jolly fellow of near seventy, I asked him about his relatives, and observed how fond they all were of light blue. He replied he had never heard that said before, and had never noticed it. I replied: 'Why, you've got a light-blue neckcloth on yourself!'

Mozley asked Henry Thomas Ellacombe (author of a work on the bells of Devonshire, and an undergraduate at Oriel in Eveleigh's time) what he remembered of his first Provost.

"It was immediately clear that Eveleigh had left no strong or distinct impression on his memory. . . . All he could mention was a line in some humorous verses by an undergraduate, describing the heads of houses:

"'Here comes fair Eveleigh with his blue hose.'"

Keble wrote of Eveleigh in 1855: "I had known him as long as I can remember anyone. He was, I verily believe, a man to bring down a blessing on any society of which he was a member."† A man of whom Keble would write thus must have found a good deal of material for reform in the Oriel of his early rule, in the days when the college lived loosely and luxuriously; when the Fellows dined early and drank pretty hard afterwards, and over their cards in the evening.‡

The first important event in the college history when Eveleigh had taken the reins was the bequest of Lord

* Mozley, *Reminiscences*, i. 80.

† Quoted in Burgon, *Twelve Good Men*, i. 383.

‡ Mozley, i. 69, 70.

Leigh, with its consequence, the erection of the new library in the garden, with the common-rooms on the ground-floor. Edward, the Lord Leigh who had been an Oriel man, and High Steward of the University in 1767, died in 1786, and left to the college all his books at Stoneleigh Abbey in Warwickshire. Such an addition made the library on the north side of the front quadrangle inadequate, and the foundations of a new building were laid in 1787. This is the somewhat grim and gaunt structure which faces us as we pass from the front into the back quadrangle, and forms the most northerly part of the college premises. The building is quite isolated. To the north of it are the premises of St. Mary Hall, and on either side Bishop Robinson's and Provost Carter's buildings. The upper story is occupied by the library, contained in one large chamber, with one or two small supplementary rooms; and below it are two common rooms, with a vestibule at the east end, and a passage with the staircase leading to the library at the other.

Henry Beeke had a good deal to do with the arrangement of the Library, and a word is due to him. He was elected Fellow in 1775, and was a man of some eminence. In the Church he became Dean of Bristol; in the University he was Professor of Modern History from 1801 to 1813. He had many accomplishments, but his real bent was financial, and in this subject he stands out as an original thinker. Those were the days when Pitt had startled England with the income-tax, and tradition credited Beeke with the suggestion. If this cannot be made good, it is at least certain that Beeke theorized in an able manner on the problems connected

with the income-tax ;* and so excellent was his reputation that he became a frequent adviser and referee of Vansittart during his long tenure of the Chancellorship of the Exchequer.

In the early days of Eveleigh's reign, John Ireland, afterwards Dean of Westminster, was at Oriel, first as Bible-clerk, and afterwards as B.A. in 1783. He became a conspicuous benefactor of the college, though his good deeds belong to a later stage of its history.

The most important force at work in the college in the closing years of the eighteenth century was the acceleration of what had all along been the most characteristic tendency of the institution, namely, that towards fully open Fellowships—Fellowships, that is to say, confined neither to members of the college nor to candidates from certain places. The first kind of restriction, we clearly realize, had never existed at Oriel at all. Membership of the college never was necessary before election to a Fellowship. The other kind of restriction, we also realize, did exist, though only in connexion with some, and those a minority, of the Fellowships. What directly led to the pre-eminence of Oriel in the first thirty years of the nineteenth century, and to its tutorial ability and fame, was the use it made of this exceptional freedom, so that the best ability of the University might flow Orielwards by a kind of natural law.

A momentous step was taken, as has already been hinted, in the election of Edward Copleston of Corpus

* Beeke's work on this subject was called, *Observations on the Produce of the Income Tax and on its Proportion to the whole Income of Great Britain*. McCulloch said it was the best application of statistical reasoning to finance that had yet appeared.

in 1795. The importance lay not, of course, in the fact that Copleston was a Corpus and not an Oriel man; in that, as we have seen, there was no novelty. It lay in the fact that Copleston, having been born in Devonshire, was invited to stand for a Fellowship which, by the terms of its foundation, was restricted to candidates born in Wiltshire; in other words, it was one of the Frank Fellowships. The entry in the Register is explicit on this point: "*Eodem tempore Edvardus Copleston de Offwell in Com. Devoniae propter defectum habilis Candidati ē com. Wilton, electus est unanimi consensu Societatis.*" The circumstances of the election make a picturesque incident in Copleston's biography. Copleston was in no sense a competitor for the Fellowship. He had just taken his degree. In those days there were no Honours Lists or First Classes. Copleston was only a promising Corpus scholar who had won the Chancellor's Latin Verse Prize. It was a most pregnant incident, for Copleston was not only the involuntary agent of the supersession of a rule, but, by his own force and talent, the chief instrument of Oriel's success in after days.

Copleston was appointed tutor in October, 1797, and from that time we may date the beginning of the great tutorial period at Oriel. The faults of the eighteenth century were at last about to be mended. Eveleigh had long been advocating the Honours system; the energy of Cyril Jackson, Dean of Christ Church, and of Parsons, the Master of Balliol, soon carried it into effect. The Honours system demanded increased energy in tuition; it introduced a keenly competitive spirit into all college work.

The tutorial reputation of Oriel was built up by more than one man, but probably Copleston had more to do with it than any other. Copleston had definite ideals of education and of tuition. He was, by nature and by circumstances, a pioneer and a controversialist. More than that, he had an ideal of Fellowships and the qualification for them, an ideal to which the constitution of Oriel peculiarly lent itself. Copleston was, in fact, a man quick with the spirit of his age. He was no petrification or pedant, making classical erudition hideous, and believing in the finality of Oxford conventions, but a man of letters, nimble, critical, and many-sided. Two facts of his career may serve for sufficient illustration of this. He was Professor of Poetry at Oxford from 1802 to 1812, and acquitted himself with distinction in that capacity. He showed himself capable of repelling the shafts of the less instructed of the new critics of the nineteenth century, and carrying the war into the enemy's camp. Thus, when there appeared in the *British Critic* a scathing review of the poems of Copleston's colleague at Oriel, Richard Mant, Copleston brought out an *Advice to a Young Reviewer*, which is a piece of quite brilliant irony. He follows up a series of satirical maxims to a budding critic with a review of Milton's *L'Allegro* as a specimen. The last paragraph will give some idea of the quality of this *jeu d'esprit*:

"Upon the whole, Mr. Milton seems to be possessed of some fancy and talent for rhyming, two most dangerous endowments, which often unfit men for acting a useful part in life, without qualifying them for that which is great and brilliant. If it be true, as we have heard, that

he has declined advantageous prospects in business for the sake of indulging his poetical humour, we hope it is not yet too late to prevail upon him to retract his resolution. With the help of Cocker and common industry he may become a respectable scrivener ; but it is not all the Zephyrs, and Auroras, and Corydons, and Thyrsises, aye, nor his junketing Queen Mab, and drudging Goblins that will ever make him a poet."

Copleston's duel with the anonymous traducer of Oxford education in the *Edinburgh Review* is perhaps better known, and lets us see into the nature and ideals of the man. In 1809 the *Edinburgh* attack on Oxford had appeared, and in 1810 and 1811 Copleston, being at the time tutor and Dean of Oriel, published a series of replies. These are written with the utmost vivacity and acumen, and show the literary sensitiveness and capacity characteristic of the man. His primary aim was to defend against the critic the devotion to Aristotle and the classical basis of Oxford education generally ; but it was less Oxford as it was than Oxford as it might be, not the University conceived as eternally droning out dead learning in dead languages, but as possessing in the classical languages and literatures an invaluable instrument for training the minds of men for the tasks of their day and generation, for which he took up his plea.

A reformer, indeed, Copleston was from the first. He was in hearty sympathy with Eveleigh's promotion of the Honours system ; nay, he went a step further than Eveleigh, and advocated the publication of the names of all pass-men, a change which has never yet been made. "He was," says Whately, "for considering

all as having obtained *some* honour, who, on examination, had been pronounced worthy of an academical degree.”* He believed in the system of college lectures, which was one side of the tutorial system—the side of it which dealt with men in classes. He thought that a small class, varying from three or four to ten or twelve, was the golden mean between the “ambitious display” of a public lecture, with its dubious benefits to the average man, and the uncompetitive and often wearisome *tête-à-tête* instruction.

There was one difficulty, however, inherent in the tutorial system as Copleston and his followers understood it which even his ability was not quite able to solve. In the tutorial idea there lurked the potentiality of closer intercourse between tutor and pupil, of more exclusive attention to the individual needs, than could be attained by the daily college lecture. How acute this difficulty became at Oriel, and what pain and difficulty it wrought, we shall see by-and-by. It was practically solved in Copleston’s days by what he and his school in theory condemned—the taking of private pupils by the college tutors. Under this plan an undergraduate might be both the official and the private pupil of his tutor. One of Copleston’s pupils has left a vivid picture of Copleston (and the other eminent Oriel tutors followed his example closely) in both capacities. To his classes he gave only one lecture a day; but so thorough was it, so well digested, so soundly practical, so unflinchingly accurate, that it did away with the need for all coaching and cramming

* See Copleston’s *Remains*, with Introduction by Archbishop Whately (1854).

whatever. Yet the pupils *did* coach, though it was with their own tutors, and though, in Copleston's case, it was greater quantity rather than superior quality that was to be got by doing so. In the private lectures he did not scruple to be a little desultory at times, and to improve small occasions. Once a note was brought in during a coaching-hour, and Copleston, being indignant at seeing his name spelt with two *p*'s thereon, delivered himself as follows :

"I cannot recommend a better habit to a young man, like yourself, entering the world in good society, than to ascertain the exact prefix, spelling, and pronunciation of every man's name with whom you have intercourse ; such, I mean, as he and his family choose habitually to adopt. Depend upon it, that people in general infer a sort of *ολιγωρια* from such lapses ; as if you took so little interest in their identity as to forget the minor characteristics of it."*

Copleston ceased to be tutor in 1813 ; but he was appointed Provost on Eveleigh's death in 1814, and held office until his translation to the See of Llandaff in 1828. During the whole of that time his influence—the influence of a man modern, practical, literary, rather rationalistic, as well as sufficiently scholarly—was very strong in the college, and told powerfully upon the elections to the Fellowships, by which, quite as much as by the quality of the tuition, Oriel won great fame. The principle to which Copleston owed his own election as Fellow, the strict principle of *detur digniori*, came to be the recognised rule of the college ; and the special gift practised by Copleston and com-

* *Memoirs of Edward Copleston*, by W. J. Copleston, i. 27-36.

municated by him to his juniors and colleagues was the intuition of *dignitas* among the candidates. The intuition was not independent of a special examination such as, in Copleston's own case, had been dispensed with. The art lay in the nature and conduct of the examination, which were at once the glory and the stumbling-stone of the college. Perhaps the essential principle, the end aimed at, cannot be better stated than in Copleston's own words written in 1843. He is speaking of the qualifications of a Fellow, and he says :

"That defect which I always saw and lamented in examiners, and in vain endeavoured to remedy, still seems not only to exist but increase—the quackery of the schools. Every election to a Fellowship which tends to discourage the narrow and almost the technical routine of public examinations I consider as an important triumph."*

In other words, according to the Coplestonian tradition, Oriel Fellowships were given in conscious independence of academic conventions, and in disbelief in the finality of the verdict of the schools.

The best extant account both of the spirit and procedure of an Oriel Fellowship examination is furnished by a long letter written by Richard William Church, the late Dean of St. Paul's, to H. P. Liddon, as material for the Life of Pusey. Church was elected Fellow of Oriel in 1838; but the Coplestonian ideal was not forgotten, though Copleston was gone and things were rather decadent. Vacancies, Dean Church tells us, were never advertised: if a man wanted to stand at Oriel he had to find out whether there was

* *Letters and Correspondence of J. H. Newman*, i. 73, 74.

a vacancy or not. He was then interviewed by the Provost, and if the Provost was satisfied that he was generally desirable and was sufficiently poor, the candidate's next step was to write a Latin letter to each of the Fellows, giving his reasons for standing, and belief as to his qualifications. There was then some personal intercourse before the examination began. One had better go on to Dean Church's own words :

"The examination was always in Easter week, and lasted four days, from Monday to Thursday. I received a card from the Dean . . . telling me to be in hall at ten on Monday, and bring with me a certain volume of the *Spectator*. We were told that we might have as long as we liked for our papers, till it got too dark to see, but we should not have candles . . . that we should remain in the hall till we had done them. . . . We had a longish passage from our *Spectators* to turn into Latin, and an English essay to write on a passage of Bacon. . . . On Tuesday it was the same thing, the papers being a Latin essay and (I think) a bit of English to be translated into Greek. . . . The work was mainly composition and translation. The questions were very general, not involving directly much knowledge, but trying how a man could treat ordinary questions which interest cultivated men. It was altogether a trial, not of how much men knew, but of *how* they knew, and what they could do. The last two days were varied by excursions to the 'Tower' for *vivâ voce*, which was made a good deal of. . . ."

More valuable than even Dean Church's narrative are his comments :

"The idea of the examination was an old-fashioned one, rather pointedly contrasted with the newer modes then

coming in of setting questions implying a good deal of modern or of somewhat pretentious reading, in history, philology, and modern books of philosophy and political science. The Oriel common-room was rather proud of its seemingly easy and commonplace and unpretending tests of a man's skill in languages and habits and power of thinking for himself. They did not care if he had read much so that he came up to their standard of good Latin, good Greek, good English, and good sense. . . . It created a prejudice against a man if he seemed to be trying to be flash, or to show off his reading. . . . The two papers which were almost invariably the guide to the first decision were the English into Latin and the English essay. It was very seldom that men who were clearly first in these did not maintain their superiority throughout the rest of the examination, and no man who failed in these had much chance of retrieving himself. Next to these papers the Latin essay and the translations into English told."

The Fellows examined together each candidate's set of papers.

"We met in common-room and sat round the table, each of us having one man's essay or translation. If a translation, one of us read a sentence of the English, etc., and the corresponding sentence of each translation went round the table in turn, till the paper had been gone through sentence by sentence, and each sentence had been discussed and criticised. . . . The English and Latin essays were also read aloud, so that at the end we got a very distinct notion of the strength or weakness of each candidate. This way of doing things was, I think, given up in the later part of my residence. We inherited it from the days when Copleston was Provost, and the older men set much value on it. . . . The style of examination

was objected to as narrow and minute, as it certainly was troublesome. But it was certainly searching. . . . A good deal of weight was attached to *vivâ voce*. . . . It was thought to be a good test of the way in which a man met difficulties, and whether he faced them fairly or tried to evade them.”*

How this method might prove a rock of offence is shown by an incident of 1821. In the Fellowship election of that year (the year before Newman's election) Charles J. Plumer, of Balliol, who had taken a second class in the schools, was preferred to Daniel K. Sandford, of Christ Church, who had taken a first. Sandford was exceedingly indignant, and relieved his feelings by attacking the Oriel method in the July number of the *Edinburgh Review*. A sentence or two will show what might plausibly be said by a victim of the method.

“Let a young man only abdicate the privilege of thinking . . . and devote his whole body and soul to the sordid ambition of success, and the way to win with such electors is no formidable problem. . . . After a dull examination in the schools—if a failure so much the better—he may begin to be the butt of common-rooms, circulate tutors' wit and prose against the *Edinburgh Review*. . . . Guiltless of fame, of originality or humour, our tyro may then approach the scene of action, secure that the judges will take good care that ‘the race shall not be to the swift nor the battle to the strong.’ Hardy professions of impartiality are indeed held forth, to attract unwary merit ; and selfish mediocrity finds the most exquisite of all its gratifications in the momentary chance of harassing the talent it would tremble to confront. The candidates are locked up to write themes, solve a sorites, discover the Latin for an earthquake, and

* *Life of E. B. Pusey, D.D.*, i. 66-69.

perform other equally edifying tasks ; and the close of this solemn farce is the annunciation of a choice that had been long before determined, in proportion to the scrapings, grins, and genuflections of the several competitors. Who can be surprised if, under a system like this, genius and knowledge should so seldom strike a lasting root ? or that maturity, which succeeds to a youth so prostituted, should produce, by its most vigorous efforts, nothing better than learned drivelling and marrowless inflation ?”*

Certainly neither drivelling pedantry nor marrowless inflation was what characterized either Copleston himself or the long series of his best colleagues at Oriel. On the contrary (and it is necessary to emphasize this in face of the tendency to associate modern Oriel chiefly with ecclesiasticism), the tone of the college in its greatest days was distinctively critical, rational, and sceptical. The chief aim of the Fellowship examination was to test dialectical power ; a chief occupation of the common-room was to practise it. An attempt to name this tone was made in the application of the phrase “Noetic School” to Whately and other distinguished colleagues of Copleston at Oriel. Newman himself, who did more than any other man to divert the college from criticism to submission, has left a vivid picture, not only of the direct influence on him of so characteristic a “Noetic” as Whately, but of his own argumentative *brusquerie* in the congenial atmosphere of the Oriel common-room. And it is noticeable, both in his case and in that of Richard Hurrell Froude, his

* Quoted in Newman's *Letters and Correspondence*, i. 65, 66. It is fair to Sir D. K. Sandford to add that he was afterwards heartily ashamed of both the taste and the truthfulness of this criticism.

chief coadjutor in sowing the seed of the coming Tractarianism in college, that their method was essentially dialectical and modern, even though its effect, on themselves and others, was to lead them into "fierce thoughts" against the modern spirit and the modern trend of things. Pusey might bury himself in theology, and Keble might be the saint and sweet singer of a revived devotion; but Newman and Froude, even when the gates of authority seemed about to close on them for ever, were questioners and controversialists and gladiators, striving to rationalize reason out of its own supremacy.

The moral and religious side of Oriel tuition in those days is well represented by James Davison, who came from Christ Church to Oriel in 1800, and was tutor from 1810 to 1817. He gained high respect both among his colleagues and the undergraduates, and was honourably known in the world of authorship by his Warburtonian Lectures on Prophecy and his *Inquiry into Primitive Sacrifice*, as well as by various contributions to the *Quarterly Review*. He also was something of a political economist, having written both against relief to the able-bodied poor and on the silk trade.

Another of the graver tutors was William James, elected in 1809, who was still in residence when Newman joined the college, and of whom he speaks with respect as having, "about the year 1823," taught him the doctrine of Apostolical Succession in the course of a walk—he thought round Christ Church meadow. "I recollect," he adds, "being somewhat impatient of the subject at the time."

The Honours system in the University soon began to

tell on the vogue of Oriel. Copleston was one of the first examiners, and his college began to take a distinguished place in the class lists. In those days there were few University prizes, and only one University Scholarship—the Craven. The prizes were the Chancellor's two—one for Latin verse, and one for an English essay, to which was added, in 1810, one for a Latin essay. Besides these there was that *bonne bouche*, the Newdigate prize for English verse; and that was all. These prizes again and again fell to the share of Oriel.

The three years 1810-1813 have a special importance in the college history. Copleston was still tutor, and in 1810 he became Dean. In 1811 an epoch was made by the election of John Keble and Richard Whately as Fellows. Keble was to be, what all the world knows he was, the true saint and poet of a movement which may without offence be called reactionary, as well as the herald of Tractarianism; Whately was a Noetic of Noetics, a shrewd man of the world, an astute logician and controversialist, a believer in progress, a corrector of enthusiasms on every side. When he took his place at Oriel, Keble was a brilliant young scholar of Copleston's college, Corpus, who had taken his degree with double first-class honours in 1810. In 1812 he won both the Latin and English essays; so that, although he did not become a tutor until 1818, he was examining for the schools in 1813, and was much in college, securing respect by his attainments, and love by his sweet and lofty character. Whately had been at Oriel throughout, and had done something towards redeeming the comparative failure of a double second in 1808 (the year of Robert Peel's double first) by winning

the English essay in 1810. From the first, however, Whately's passport must have been less any definite academic success than the manifestation of a strong personality and a rich and versatile intelligence. No one exemplified better than he the ideal of the Oriel Fellow as a man whose mind was an instrument rather than a receptacle.

Two other notable elections were made during Eveleigh's lifetime—that of James Endell Tyler in 1812, and that of Edward Hawkins in 1813. Tyler was an Oriel man, who took a first in classics and a second in mathematics in 1809. He was at Oriel almost continuously, until he was appointed by Lord Liverpool to St. Giles-in-the-Fields in 1826, his only previous ecclesiastical preferment having been to the college living of Moreton Pinckney, which he served from Oxford. Tyler was not, perhaps, a man of genius; but he had the kind of harmonious and well-endowed nature which fills, actively and acceptably, every niche in which it finds itself. He was a famous tutor, with excellent powers of imparting what he knew, and warm personal interest in his pupils; a popular, beneficent, and reforming parish clergyman; in all directions an asserting and attaching personality. Always he magnified his office; it was he (so the story goes) who, when he was Dean, sent a formal note to Gaisford: "The Dean of Oriel presents his compliments to the Dean of Christ Church," on reading which Gaisford remarked: "Alexander the coppersmith sendeth greeting to Alexander the Great." When Tyler migrated to London, and lost his chance of being Provost after Copleston, he passed to new success. He shone like a light in the dark region where he

laboured ; and all who have occasion to traverse *Endell* Street, as they thread their way through London, would do well to remember whose memory is enshrined there.

Edward Hawkins came from Merchant Taylor's and St. John's with a double first behind him, won in 1811, and a future of strong, strange, and indeterminate influence before him. What the nature of that influence was must be guessed at from much of the subsequent history of the college.

On April 23, 1813, the college decreed that if no candidate for a Frank Fellowship from the proper county was of sufficient merit, a native of any other county might be elected on the Frank foundation, even though there were already two other Fellows natives of such other county. The Fellow so elected was to be reckoned as of the Frank county so long as his own county continued to be represented by two other Fellows, but he was to be transferred to his own county as soon as that became free ; and if at that time there were a Fellow of the proper Frank county holding an open Fellowship, such Fellow was to be reckoned as on the Frank foundation.

On December 10, 1814, Provost Eveleigh died, leaving behind him a great, if somewhat vague, reputation. Copleston, who was Dean, formally announced the event to his colleagues, and eulogized the Provost with discrimination.

"We have lost" (he said) "not only a bright example of piety, worth, and benevolence, but each one of us has lost a friend, while the college has lost an experienced and conscientious Governor—one who conducted its concerns for three-and-thirty years with singular uprightness and

fidelity, and who preserved its harmony uninterrupted, even among differences of opinion, by his own candour and invariable mildness of temper. In every question that divided the Society, it was evident to all that his sole endeavour was to discharge his conscience. There was no mixture of pride, of obstinacy, of love of power; no impatience of opposition; no separate interest or selfish motive ever intruded into his dealings with us. He displayed at all times a respect for the judgment of others, a readiness to compare opinions, and a liberal disposition to concede whenever he thought his conscience not involved in the support of his own judgment."

After referring to Eveleigh's promotion of the Honours scheme, Copleston proceeded to reveal a secret:

"After having seen many attempts at succeeding by mere argument and remonstrance quite fruitless, and when he almost despaired of effecting anything by that method, he had drawn the outline of a new plan, which he meant to submit to some leading persons in this place, and which he communicated to me in private. It contained an offer, on his own part, of a benefaction, larger even than that which he has since conferred on this college, for the purpose of providing rewards and honours for the most distinguished candidates, if the University would consent to a reform of the whole system of examinations. The offer was declined; but from that moment the work was taken zealously in hand. . . ."

One other tribute to the famous Provost may be quoted. It appeared in the Proctor's valedictory oration in 1815, and was from the pen of Martin Joseph Routh, the long-lived President of Magdalen:

* *Memoirs of Copleston*, i. 63.

“Dein paucis mensibus interjectis e medio nobis ereptus est vir gravis et sanctus, Orielensis Collegii præpositus, qui junctâ doctrinâ tum sacrâ quam externâ cum literis Hebraicis, in scriptis suis non tantum divinas Scripturas feliciter exposuit, sed etiam fidem orthodoxam invictissime defendit. Religionis præmia, quæ innocentia vitæ atque inculpatis moribus Deo adjuvante meruerat, virtutibus et annis plenus, jam melius nosse incepit.”

It was in keeping with such a lofty strain of compliment that Eveleigh's successor in the Provostship was referred to :

“Huic egregio viro, quem diu lugebunt cum ecclesia et academia, tum vero præcipuè celebre musarum domicilium in quo habitabat, successit grande decus atque tutamen rerum nostrarum, is, qui omnium tulit suffragia, nec meo vel cujusquam aliûs egens præconio.”

Eveleigh's benefactions to Oriel were worthy of the man. In 1789 he gave £1,000, invested in the 3 per cent. Old S.S. Annuities, on trust that £18 of the income should be spent in books to be given to deserving undergraduates, according to the judgment of the Provost and Fellows. The rest of the £30 was to be spent for the benefit of the parish school at Purleigh. The Eveleigh Books have been a prominent feature of Oriel ever since. In 1845 it was settled that the books were to be given at collections for work done or good conduct shown during the preceding year ; and more recently prizes have been instituted for the work done in collections themselves, in harmony with Eveleigh's purpose. The year before his death Eveleigh devoted the interest of £1,500 to the remuneration of a Fellow for examining reports of the University

sermons written by undergraduate members of the college. This was the beginning of the *Censor Theologicus*, whose office existed until 1869. By an Order of the Court of Chancery, dated December 6, 1873, the income of the fund was directed to be applied to the maintenance of a lectureship in theology.

The change of Heads, which put so energetic and reforming a spirit as Copleston's in the highest place in the college, did but increase its power and fame. Two elections in 1815 developed the Noetic side of the common-room—those of Renn Dickson Hampden, afterwards Principal of St. Mary Hall and Bishop of Hereford; and Thomas Arnold, who, as "Arnold of Rugby," has left his mark on our system of public school education. The former became, in course of time, the sign and symbol of that theological Liberalism which Tractarianism arose to overthrow; the latter, by his frank adoption of a critical attitude towards historical records, and his bold and novel Erastianism, was the founder of the Broad Church school of the nineteenth century, as well as the assured and uncompromising opponent of Tractarianism. Hampden's connection both with Oriel and Oxford was much closer than Arnold's. Hampden was educated at Oriel, where he won his double first in 1813. He was long in residence, first as Fellow and then as tutor; he was recalled to the tuition in 1831; he became Professor, first of Moral Philosophy and then of Divinity, in the University. Arnold, on the other hand, was one of the little band of able Corpus Scholars; from Corpus he took his first in *literæ humaniores* in 1814; Oriel may claim, if she chooses, part of the credit of the English and Latin essays which he won respectively in 1815 and

1817. But Arnold did not reside at Oriel beyond his probationary year; he never was a college tutor; his bent was towards schoolmastering, matrimony, and extra-academic life; and he was little in Oxford between his taking Orders in 1818 and his recall in 1841 to enter on his too brief tenure of the Chair of Modern History. Still, so forceful was his personality that he has his definite niche at Oriel; and it is well that his keen and trenchant face, with its curling dark hair, should look down, next neighbour to Keble's, on the generations of diners in the Hall.

If, even in Eveleigh's earlier days, the Oriel common-room was ever in any sense a place of toppers, it soon ceased to be so in the great Coplestonian régime. No goblet or flagon, rosy with sensuous content, but "the Oriel teapot," wakeful, austere, astringent, became the recognised symbol of a Society dedicated to dialectic, to the destruction of abuses, to the clarification and purification of thought. Something of unpopularity, a *souçon* of superiority, a possibility of priggishness, something too formidable to be wholly genial, mingled with the great attractiveness of the college in those days. It was well, perhaps; for, on its undergraduate side, Oriel remained, through all vicissitudes, a natural resort of the rank and file of the gentry and clergy; and its staff might have been too much at ease in Zion, and taken their part with the lazy and the conforming. From such a fate the college was saved by the Noetics.

Henry Jenkyns, brother of the Master of Balliol, and afterwards Canon of Durham, who was elected from Corpus in 1818, set a mark on the college; and so did Joseph Dornford and Samuel Rickards, elected in the

following year. It was Jenkyns who, when Pusey, at the Oriel Fellowship examination, tore up his work in a fit of diffident despair, reunited the fragments which helped to win the Fellowship. Dornford came from Wadham and Queen's, and became an important tutor in the twenties; of him we shall hear more again. Rickards was an Oriel man, winner of the Newdigate in 1815, and of the English essay in 1819. He did not remain long in college, but exercised much influence while there, especially over Newman; and when he retired to a living in the country, he and his charming wife made their home a centre of attraction to the best of the sons of Oriel.

In that same year, 1820, a less satisfactory election was made. The poet Coleridge's eldest son Hartley had taken a second class at Merton in 1818.* The charming childhood to which Wordsworth's lovely lines are dedicated had passed into a youth with gleams of promise, but nothing more. There was genius indeed, but no character. It is said that three successive failures to win the Newdigate so depressed him that he went to the bottle for consolation. However, bottle or no bottle, he won an Oriel Fellowship, and the warm-hearted Tyler took him under his wing with high hopes. Alas! the year of probation ran on, and Coleridge set every convention at defiance. In a non-smoking period of history, he reeked of tobacco; among punctilious colleagues he neglected to dress for dinner, and appeared

* This fact makes mincemeat of Mozley's remarkable statement that Coleridge "took his degree with high honours in 1811, and it was possibly a mutual resilience between him and people of more orderly ways that prevented him from standing at Oriel till some years after."

with a face unshaven for days. Worst of all, the wine he drank unquestionably went to his head. Whatever truth may be in the painful story that he was found one night lying in the gutter in Oriel Street, his ways were too lax for Oriel, and he had to be cast out. On October 17, 1820, the register briefly recorded that the college could be no party to the degradation threatened by the behaviour of Mr. Coleridge, to whom it had lately been intimated that, in spite of frequent admonitions to better behaviour by the Provost and Dean, he had not conducted himself during his year of probation in such a way as to prove himself worthy of admission into the Society. Wherefore the college thought well to vacate his place. This entry was signed by Whately as Dean.

With Copleston as Provost and Whately as Dean, Oriel was on the crest of its highest wave. Keble had come back to college as tutor in 1818. It is from this period that we must date Keble's most decisive influence at Oriel, an influence which is one of the most brilliant phases of tutorial success there. At this point we must again fix our attention on the contrast (already indicated in connection with their simultaneous election in 1811) between Keble and Whately as centres of influence at Oriel. Whately, I have said, was "a Noetic of Noetics"; his eccentric ways, his social instincts partly towards camaraderie, partly towards domineering, were all used for sharpening the logical faculties with a view to producing a manly, reasonable, moderate, not too other-worldly faith and practice. His strong intellectual face and handsome figure, his daily gambols with many dogs in Christ Church Meadow, his vast appetite, his lack

of ceremony (he sometimes lectured lying on a sofa with his leg hanging over the back of it)—all these things were symbolic of the effort of a strenuous, not deeply spiritual nature to make reason, religion, and learning at home with each other, and with the world in which they found themselves. Now let us turn to Keble. He was a much more brilliant scholar than Whately; he was, in the reputation of his slightly junior contemporaries, by intellectual achievement alone the first man in Oxford. Yet, in spite of that, and quite independently of it, the passion of other-worldliness, religious and poetic, laid hold of him when he was little more than a boy, and held him through life. The moral side of things was for him not rational, but religious; the salvation of the soul was more practically urgent than the education of the intelligence; the contemporary drift of things was to be opposed rather than sympathetically guided; a worldly-minded Christian was a worse foe than one who was no Christian at all. His refined, rather plain face, the quaint air of the old-fashioned clergyman, the modest, unassuming manners, suggested not the academical reformer, nor the intellectual athlete, but the parish priest, whose truly congenial sphere was the country living, where Nature is parabolic, and men and women appeal dumbly for help from on high. From our present point of view, the importance of this contrast lies in its effect on the history of Oriel tuition. Keble brought to Oriel from his Fairford curacy something which the ablest and most influential tutors hitherto had fallen short of—the idea of something *pastoral* in the relation of a tutor to his pupils. On January 29, 1818, just before going

to Oriel, Keble wrote to his future biographer, Sir J. T. Coleridge :

“I thought at first it would be a very uncomfortable thing to me to give up my Cure, and become an Academic again; but I get more and more reconciled to it every day. You consider Tuition as a species of pastoral care, do you not? Otherwise it might seem questionable whether a clergyman ought to leave a cure of souls for it. And yet there are some people at Oxford who seem to imagine that College Tutors have nothing to do with the morale. If I thought so, I would never undertake the office.”

In the two last sentences thus quoted there lies the germ of a pretty controversy, of which we shall hear more presently. It is sufficient now, more than ten years before the controversy burst into flame, to connect the beginnings with Keble and his great tutorial fame.

In 1821 the last restrictions on the Fellowships were got rid of. On October 17, the Ordinance of 1482, which made it necessary that one of the ten Fellows of the original foundation should always be a native of the diocese of Worcester, was abrogated. In making this reform the Provost and Fellows rightly maintained that they were returning to the force and spirit of the founders of the College, whose desire plainly was that Fellows should be chosen from the kingdom at large, recommended by no accident of birth, but purely *doctrinâ et moribus*. Therefore the Ordinance was wholly abrogated.

At Easter, 1821, there had been, besides that election of C. J. Plumer which we have seen drawing forth curses from D. K. Sandford in the *Edinburgh*, the election of yet another of the great series of Oriel tutors, Richard

William Jelf of Christ Church, who had taken a second there in 1820. From 1821 to 1826, Jelf was very prominent in the college, and his prominence was all for good. He was an excellent scholar, a conscientious and pleasant lecturer, and a most kindly man. His subsequent history has two outstanding features, the first of which involved his removal from Oxford. In 1826 he went to Germany as tutor to Prince George of Cumberland, the future King of Hanover. In 1844 he was made Principal of King's College, London, in which capacity he led the attack on F. D. Maurice for the sins against orthodoxy of his *Theological Essays*.

In 1822 came the historical entry of John Henry Newman within the walls of Oriel. The circumstances of the election need not be told at any length; they are matter of fairly common knowledge. Newman had been hopelessly "gulfed" in the final schools in 1820, as the class-list was then arranged; that is to say, he had won honours which, under the present reckoning, could not be ranked higher than third class. It was a bitter disappointment, but no very great mystery. Newman was known to be, quite as much after the class-list came out as before it, a man of the rarest ability; but he had overworked himself, and during the examination his nerve wholly forsook him. There remained the best prize Oxford had to offer—an Oriel Fellowship—for his salvation. With much modesty and diffidence he entered the lists, and the prize was his. He has told us how he was playing the violin in his Broad Street lodgings (he was a Trinity man), when Provost Copleston's butler arrived from Oriel to announce his election; how he went on playing as if it didn't

matter; and of the bolt he made for Oriel as soon as the messenger had gone. An even prettier picture is that of Newman sent for to the Tower over the gateway after his election to shake hands with the Provost and Fellows. "How is that hour," he writes, "fixed in my memory after the changes of forty-two years—forty-two this very day on which I write! I have lately had a letter in my hands, which I sent at the time to my great friend, John William Bowden, with whom I passed almost exclusively my undergraduate years. 'I had to hasten to the Tower,' I say to him, 'to receive the congratulations of all the Fellows. I bore it till Keble took my hand, and then felt so abashed and unworthy of the honour done me, that I seemed desirous of quite sinking into the ground.'" And in a letter to his brother, apropos of his introduction at Oriel, he says: "I took my seat in chapel, and dined with a large party in the common-room. I sat next to Keble, and, as I had heard him represented, he is more like an undergraduate than the first man in Oxford, so perfectly unassuming and unaffected is his manner."

These tributes to the Keble of those days are important and significant, but it would be a mistake to interpret them as indicating that Keble's type was that which was most actively influential on Newman at the time. Newman was Evangelical and Protestant; Keble was always a High Churchman; and the time had not come for Newman to be changed. In the early Oriel years, Newman was in no sense a disciple of Keble. When he could look back from the standpoint of the *Apologia*, and see things in their true spiritual proportions, he was conscious of a want of sympathy. "He

was shy of me for years," he writes, "in consequence of the marks I bore upon me of the Evangelical and liberal schools." The *rapprochement* took place later, when the colours in the kaleidoscope were all changing.

"Hurrell Froude brought us together about 1828. It is one of the sayings preserved in his Remains: 'Do you know the story of the murderer who had done one good thing in his life? Well, if I was ever asked what good deed I had ever done, I should say that I had brought Keble and Newman to understand each other.'"

The strongest power which Oriel brought to bear on Newman at this time was an unexpected one—that of Edward Hawkins, who was then one of the tutors, and became Vicar of St. Mary's in October, 1823. Hawkins lived to be superannuated in many respects, and there were in him always veins of pedantry, officialism, and obstinacy, which, in days of greater age and power, became uncomfortably prominent, and marred his usefulness. But as an Oriel tutor he was making a very considerable mark in that air to which Whately had given so bracing a quality. On this head the testimony of a man like Newman is conclusive. In certain respects he was of Whately's school, though by no means in all. He had Whately's robust orthodoxy without his liberalism; he was devoted to conventions, while Whately transcended, and even despised them. No pictures could stand out to the imagination in sharper contrast than that of Whately lecturing with his leg over the back of the sofa, and Hawkins putting on his cap, gown, and bands before he came out of his lodgings to look upon the dead body of an unfortunate under-

graduate who had fallen on the stones of the quadrangle from an upper window. Yet in one comprehensive respect they agreed—in a belief in moderation, and a desire to found sound learning and religious knowledge on a legitimate use of the rational intelligence, rather than on strong enthusiasms and hero-worship. Both were devoted to logic.

Newman tells us that Hawkins was of great service to his mind. Hawkins, as Vicar of St. Mary's, and Newman, as curate of St. Clement's after 1824, had to stay up in vacations, and were often alone together in college. During such opportunities of intimacy, Hawkins did his work on Newman.

“He was the first who taught me to weigh my words, and to be cautious in my statements. He led me to that mode of limiting and clearing my sense in discussion and in controversy, and of distinguishing between cognate ideas, and of obviating mistakes by anticipation, which to my surprise has been since considered, even in quarters friendly to me, to savour of the polemics of Rome. He is a man of most exact mind himself, and he used to snub me severely, on reading, as he was kind enough to do, the first sermons that I wrote, and other compositions which I was engaged upon.”*

Nor was Hawkins's influence confined to mere improvements in mental method. Newman traced to him definite additions to the sum total of his positive beliefs. He taught him baptismal regeneration, the value of tradition, and such a view of the subordinate position of the Bible to the formularies of the Church

* *Apologia* (1882 edition), p. 8.

as led Newman to give up subscribing to the Bible Society.

Whately had married in 1821, and he went off to his Suffolk living in the autumn of 1822, so his decisive influence on Newman was deferred until his return to Oxford in 1825 as Principal of St. Alban Hall, when it became very great. Even during the few months at Oriel, however, something was done.

“While I was still awkward and timid . . . he took me by the hand, and acted towards me the part of a gentle and encouraging instructor. He emphatically opened my mind, and taught me to think and to use my reason.”

To Copleston Newman felt affectionately from the first, but, on the whole, he was rather in awe of the Oriel common-room when first introduced into it. In 1823 Edward Bouverie Pusey was elected Fellow from Christ Church, and at once attracted interest and commanded respect. Newman and he soon made friends. But Pusey, though he was much in college between the date of his election and the summer of 1825, never really identified himself much with Oriel in any way. He was essentially the Hebraist and theologian, and not in any sense or from any point of view one of the Noetics.

From 1825 onwards regular lists of college officials begin to appear annually in the Register at the beginning of Michaelmas term. Let us glance at the first list, that we may realize the personnel of the common-room. Tyler was Dean, Dornford Senior Treasurer, William Ralph Churton (elected Fellow

along with Pusey, who had won a first class and the Latin verse prize at Queen's, and who was to win the English essay in 1824, when Pusey won the Latin one) was Junior Treasurer, Hawkins was Sub-Dean (*i.e.*, it was his duty to present candidates for degrees), while Jelf was Censor Theologicus, the mysterious official invented by Provost Eveleigh, whose duty was to help the undergraduate assimilation of the University sermons.

1826 was a great year at Oriel. In the first place, it was the five-hundredth anniversary of the foundation of the college. The occasion was celebrated by a great dinner in the library on June 15, to which 140 guests sat down, the Provost presiding. Previous to the dinner, a commemoration service was held at St. Mary's, at which Copleston preached. Everything went off successfully.

In February of that same year Copleston had entered in his diary: "The Society in a very flourishing state, and in excellent discipline. The Fellows united, and the most cordial harmony subsisting." The words, and the date to which they belong, should be noted, for all that was coming to an end. The Government had its eye on the Provost for Church preferment. In 1826 he was offered, and he accepted, the Deanery of Chester; in the following year he was offered, and he accepted, the Bishopric of Llandaff, through which Oriel lost him for ever. Other seeds of change were planted deep in 1826. The Fellows elected at Easter were Robert Isaac Wilberforce and Richard Hurrell Froude. Most significant of all, that was the year when Jelf went to Germany, and Newman was appointed tutor in his place.

When Whately came back to Oxford in 1825 as Principal of Alban Hall, he made Newman his Vice-Principal, and, during the year they were together, Newman "served him," as he himself says, "with all his heart as his factotum—as tutor, chaplain, bursar, and dean"; but Newman was recalled to Oriel, as soon as Jelf left, to fill his place. When Newman entered on his duties as an Oriel tutor, things were entering on a period of change. There is much significance in the words: "As to theology, Mr. Newman was under the influence of Dr. Whately for four years—from 1822 to 1826—when, coincidently with his leaving Alban Hall, he began to know Mr. Hurrell Froude." The days of the Noetics, in fact, were for Oriel passing away, and the days of the Reactionaries were beginning.

One singular figure was well known in common-room in those intermediate times. Joseph Blanco White, Irish by descent, and Spanish by the residence of his family in Spain for some generations, became a member of Oriel in October, 1826, at the age of fifty-one. Born a Roman Catholic, he had set himself to learn Anglicanism, and had taken Orders in the Church of England. He had much religious conviction and aspiration, but a questioning mind, and orthodoxy was a difficulty to him. He had already written a good many books, and was regarded with respect by Coleridge, Southey, and other lights of the literary world at that time. At Oriel, with his sensitive, kindly ways, his musical gifts, and his stores of out-of-the-way knowledge and talk, he was much liked, and there was a kind of struggle for him between the Noetics and the

Reactionaries. Newman was much interested in him, but Whately gained the day, and when he went to Ireland as Archbishop of Dublin, took Blanco White with him as a member of his household, in which capacity he stayed until his heterodoxy made the continuance of the arrangement impossible.

Copleston was consecrated as Bishop of Llandaff in the end of 1827, and on January 30, 1828, he wrote his valedictory letter to the Dean and Fellows of Oriel. This document contains every sentiment conventionally appropriate to the situation, but nothing which throws special light on the special features of the college. The retiring Provost said there were "no marks of degeneracy visible, no symptoms of decrepitude or decay," and he concluded with an aspiration that the college might "long continue to realize the beneficial and pious design of its founder; that it might ever be found a firm pillar of our Apostolical Church, and a nurse of all that is lovely and of good report."

The election to fill the vacant Headship was obviously critical, for the times were changing, and the currents in college were uncertain. Now that Whately had gone, the obvious candidate of the Coplestonian school was Hawkins; the obvious candidate on whom all schools might have been expected to unite was Keble. Keble had been connected with the college since 1811; he had brilliant scholarship, tutorial experience, the highest character, universal respect. Newman was in college to work for him, Pusey was back from Germany, forced by contact with Rationalism there into an attitude of vigilant conservatism, and dread of the regions towards which the reason might lead. *The Christian*

Year was published in 1827, and men felt that it was the work both of a new poet and a new saint, a safer and more creditable fusion of intellect and faith than any essays of Liberalism either in theology or politics. Keble, much as he loved his quiet pastoral life at Fairford, would have been by no means averse from returning to Oxford as Provost of Oriel if he had been invited with a unanimous voice. But from an early stage he made up his mind that unanimity was essential; with the slightest breath of opposition he refused to contend in any way. And he soon found that unanimity was impossible. At this particular time the influence of Hawkins was strong and uninjured. He represented the Coplestonian tradition without the Whatelyan Liberalism. If he had taught Newman an unsparing mental exactitude, he had also grounded and settled him in the Anglican faith. He was closely and continuously identified with Oxford; he had the college discipline at heart. Keble had been much in the country, and his bent was pastoral. Was he not, in spite of his great and varied gifts, a little too gentle, a little too mystical, for the Headship of a college where disciplinary and practical instincts are so essential?

Such were the arguments and questionings of the Oriel Fellows. It must be remembered that there was yet no definite ecclesiastical controversy in the Church of England, and that Keble was not yet either a herald or a champion. Newman and Pusey were the two Fellows who might have been expected to push Keble's claim at all costs. Yet, as early as December 19, 1827, Newman made no secret, even to Keble himself, of his

resolve to prefer Hawkins. His words make a model of candour.

"I have lived more with Hawkins than with any other Fellow," he wrote, "and have thus had opportunities of understanding him more than others. His general views so agree with my own . . . that I feel vividly and powerfully the advantages the college would gain when governed by one who, pursuing ends which I cordially approve, would bring to the work powers of mind to which I have long looked up with great admiration. Whereas I have had but few opportunities of the pleasure and advantage of your society; and I rather suspect, though I may be mistaken, that, did I know you better, I should find you did not approve opinions, objects, and measures to which my own turn of mind has led me to assent. I allude, for instance, to the mode of governing a college, the desirableness of certain reforms in the University at large, their practicability, the measures to be adopted with reference to them, etc."

Pusey agreed with Newman, and was equally decided and equally candid. He wrote a long letter to Jenkyns on the subject, in which he said he was sure Hawkins was the fittest man for the post. Keble had, indeed, "personal excellence, high talents, a pure and beautiful mind," but he was deficient "in the very points which are here perhaps of primary importance, and that in these same points Hawkins peculiarly excels." The very beauty of Keble's mind made him, Pusey thought, unpractical; and he was constitutionally unsystematic—too unsystematic for a Head. Hawkins, on the other hand, had every appropriate gift: practical sagacity, insight into character, moderation, leisure for theo-

logical study. To Keble himself Pusey wrote with entire openness, but without entering on his reasons.

The new Fellows, Wilberforce and Hurrell Froude, were the only ones inclined to Keble, so his game was up, and with an admirable mixture of dignity and good-nature, he refused to stand before the end of the year, and when the office became vacant, Hawkins was elected by a unanimous common-room on February 2, 1828.

No explanation can deprive this election of historic importance. Long afterwards, both Newman and Pusey regretted strongly, and Pusey bitterly, the choice they had made; but, in truth, they had no reason to blame themselves. When they chose Hawkins rather than Keble they fancied they were preferring a practical man to an unpractical; when they saw reason to regret their action, it was not because they found their opinions wrong on that issue, but because the issue had changed. The Church controversy, unforeseen as a controversy, had arisen. Keble was to come forward as in many senses the protagonist on the side they thought right; Hawkins was to oppose that side. The choice of 1828 was made in an inevitable blindness.

In hurrying on the birth of the new issue, both at Oriel and beyond it, the influence of Richard Hurrell Froude was very great. We have seen that he was elected a Fellow of Oriel in 1826. He was an Oriel man throughout, and had taken a double second in 1824. He was the eldest son of the Archdeacon of Totnes, and the eldest of three eminent brothers, all Oriel men—William, the engineer, born in 1810; and James Anthony, the historian, born in 1818. Hurrell

was born in 1803. Always delicate, he fell into consumption early in the thirties, and died in 1836. But, though his career was short and enfeebled, and though there is little of him in print but what the affectionate appreciation of his friends put there, it is certain that Hurrell Froude had in his college an influence, both intense and peculiar, which radiated widely, and was answerable for some of the most marked phenomena of Tractarianism. Froude was perhaps the most convinced, the most outspoken, the most thoroughgoing, medievalist among the young men who thought the Church of England in an unsatisfactory condition; and he had the incommunicable and inexplicable gift of great personal influence, which in his case took the most irresistible of all its forms, that of impressing others with his equal pre-eminence in intellect and character. While the other Tractarian propagandists of the immediate future were recoiling in fear and anxiety from the advance of the Liberal and Erastian tide, Froude was ardently counselling reaction, loudly and scornfully proclaiming the loveliness and rightness of at least a large number of Roman opinions and practices, and laying a zealous axe at the root of the Protestantism of the Church of England. Let us recall a little of what Newman has said of him :

“ He delighted in the notion of an hierarchical system, of sacerdotal power, and of full ecclesiastical liberty. . . . He had a high severe idea of the intrinsic excellence of Virginité, and he considered the Blessed Virgin its great Pattern. . . . He was more than inclined to believe a large amount of miraculous interference as occurring in the early and Middle Ages. . . . He was a high Tory of

the Cavalier stamp, and was disgusted with the Toryism of the opponents of the Reform Bill. . . . He taught me to look with admiration towards the Church of Rome, and in the same degree to dislike the Reformation."

Hurrell Froude was a pupil of Keble, and as Newman said, he reacted on him. With his place in the history of Tractarianism we have here nothing to do; we are concerned only with his influence on Oriel, and that was not solely confined to a conversational propaganda among his colleagues.

When Jelf went to Germany, he was succeeded in the tutorship by Newman; and two years later, in the first year of Hawkins's reign, Robert Wilberforce and Hurrell Froude were made tutors. Froude and Wilberforce were products of Keble's influence; they were in no sense inheritors of the Coplestonian tradition. As we have seen, it was a strong principle of Keble's that the tutorial office was a pastoral one. With this view, Froude and Wilberforce entered on their tutorial functions. Hitherto Newman had been trained, not by Keble, but by Whately and Hawkins; but by 1828 the time had come when he, too, was to become a kind of belated pupil of Keble, and when his sensitive nature was to be impressed by the ardent and aggressive Froude. Newman was learning his powers of personal influence; the idea of a national and ecclesiastical crisis, for which young men must be trained, was fast growing on his mind. Even Dornford, now the senior tutor, shared in the new tutorial ideal of his younger colleagues.

Although the tutorial system had been an essential part of the collegiate system ever since the colleges had



From a photograph by the

THE COMMON ROOM

[Oxford Camera Club



undertaken to educate undergraduates, there was still a good deal of uncertainty as to the precise status and functions of tutors. The Laudian statutes had definitely recognised their existence by requiring that each undergraduate should be committed to the care of one, but there were no definite rules as to how responsibility was to be shared among several tutors, or as to the nature and limits of that responsibility. At the best of times, there was something dubious, indeterminate, and inadequate about the system. Thus, in the great Coplestonian days, as we have seen, official tuition had to be, or at least was, largely supplemented by private tuition. Again, as early as 1823, we find Newman discussing, with Hawkins and others, the compatibility of Holy Orders with tutorial office. On a lower ground of theory, but with exceedingly important practical bearings, was the question how far a tutor, whether a clergyman or not, was responsible to the Head of his college, as well as to the University, his pupils, and his own conscience.

To the three new tutors, more or less carrying Dornford with them, these questions became urgent after 1828. According to the tradition in force at Oriel, tutorial responsibility was chiefly intellectual, and was discharged by lecturing and securing attendance at lectures. The instruction followed a fixed routine, and was always subject to the authority of the Provost, used, no doubt, as sparingly as possible. Personal influence, such as so many of the great Oriel tutors had wielded, was an accident. The new tutors started from Keble's position that the office was pastoral; they went on to feel that it was moral quite as much as intel-

lectual. To them, personal influence, such as of course no formal rule can limit, was essential. Above all, they conceived that the responsibility of each was delegated by the Provost when the office was conferred, and involved complete freedom as to the details of instruction.

The election of Hawkins to the Provostship made it very difficult for the new tutors to carry out their views. He was eminently conservative, eminently official. What had answered under Eveleigh and Copleston must be made to answer under him; he intended to rule as well as reign at Oriel. It is more than likely, also, that even as early as 1829 and 1830 he may have felt that the unlimited educational influence of Newman and Froude might lead their pupils in directions which he thought mischievous. However that may have been, a dispute arose between the Provost and the three tutors in 1829. Up till then the Provost had abetted Newman in his more rigid discipline, sterner equality, etc.; but, as Newman always felt, a real difference of principle existed between them. The immediate occasion of the dispute was the claim of Newman and his colleagues to arrange their lecture-lists as they pleased. To this the Provost objected, whereupon the tutors asserted their leading principle, namely, that each tutor had, by the University rules, a relation to his pupils of a more intimate nature than that which exists between the deliverer of, and the regular listeners to, a college lecture.

Newman was the chief fighter, and he wrote decidedly, insistently, and sometimes brusquely. Hawkins wrote with great respect and affection towards the tutors, was

eager for discussion and compromise, but was at last stiffened into an unyielding attitude. An interesting episode was the consultation of Copleston, which took place in the spring of 1830. Hawkins had sent one of Newman's letters; the Bishop replied very carefully. His sympathies were decidedly with Hawkins. He disliked the tone of Newman's letter. He had just seen Dornford, and was sure that he was made unhappy by the action of the other tutors. After giving instances of similar tutorial claims in Eveleigh's time, Copleston drew a distinction, grounded on the "reformation of the schools"; in other words, the changes of the beginning of the century. That event, he held, had increased the educational responsibility of the Heads towards the University, and made the present action of the Oriel tutors the more dangerous. The Bishop maintained that the Provost ought to interfere with the system of lecturing, "by way of counsel and advice," and that he might boycott obstinate tutors who differed from him "by assigning pupils," as they entered, "to those tutors who agreed with him." He certainly had no desire that the tutors should confine themselves entirely to lecturing.

"As to religious instruction," he wrote, "and private help to keep some backward ones up to their college lectures, it was what I always wished and desired the tutors to regard as more especially their own province. . . . My beau-ideal was that a tutor should see all his own pupil's exercises, and remark upon them; that he should talk to him about the lectures he was attending, whether in his own classes or not; be ready to assist his difficulties, observe his conduct, and see more especially that his

religious instruction went on. With the class, he was to attend to all alike, but not with that individual attention which is due to his own pupils in private."

Newman had brought forward, as evidence of the inadequacy of the old system, the large use made of private tuition.

Copleston said he had always discouraged it, except for specially backward men and in vacation :

"I always held," he wrote, "that a tutor ought to give sufficient advice in aid of the college lectures, to enable a diligent and clever young man to obtain honours ; and I never ceased to lament the cramming system, of which Oriel had really less than any other college, even when it gained most honours."

Had nothing more been in issue than a question of tutorial method, there seems no reason why a compromise should not have been arrived at without any wounded feeling or loss of valuable services to the college. But both parties seem to have been dimly conscious throughout that there was more at stake. On this point also some words of Copleston throw light :

"From what you say," he writes to Hawkins, "of Newman's religious views, I fear he is impracticable. His notion of dangers to Church and State I cannot understand. For even under the system we wish to continue religious instruction is part of the class lectures, and in private it is part of each tutor's business with his own pupils."

In fact, one can plainly see that the religious revival which was coming to the English Church was the real

cause of the tutorial quarrel at Oriel in 1830. The tutors had the new wine of it in their veins; they were the subjects of an enthusiasm which they were impelled to communicate, and which was intolerant of restraint; whilst the Provost was, and was to remain, outside the range of the new ideas. In such a situation compromise was impracticable.

The dispute, though it caused much soreness of feeling both during its progress and afterwards, came quickly to an end. The tutors unanimously refused to consider their relations to their pupils confined to lecturing—arranged according to the Provost's ideas—and intercourse bearing on the lectures, and the Provost accordingly intimated that he would send them no more pupils, though they were at liberty to see through the Schools the men already committed to them. In a short time, therefore, Newman, Wilberforce, and Froude ceased to be tutors of Oriel.

This change had certain important and well-marked results on the college. In the first place, it riveted the authority of Provost Hawkins, and made him for the rest of his life the dominant force in Oriel. In the second place, as the deprived tutors remained Fellows and attached members of the college, it did nothing to reduce the spread of their influence in common-room and indirectly in college generally, but rather tended to increase it by opposition. Lastly, and most important of all, it dealt a blow to the intellectual prestige of the college, from which it never recovered during Hawkins's long reign. Whether the Provost had acted rightly or wrongly in the quarrel with the tutors, he had won a place in the college which it needed different or more

happily mingled qualities than his to fill satisfactorily through the changing years. He had cut himself off, and to a large extent his college too, from the strongest force then at work in Oxford; and, eminent and impressive as he always was, he and the Fates behind him somehow failed to keep Oriel in the place where Copleston, Whately, and the rest had put her. From this time onwards we have to trace something of a decline. But having admitted this, let us briefly note the positive features of college history during the remainder of Hawkins's reign.

After 1830 the most critical years were 1835 and 1836, in the course of which Keble and Dornford resigned their Fellowships and Hurrell Froude died. Hawkins had supplied the tutorial vacancies by George Anthony Denison, of Christ Church, elected Fellow in 1828, and W. J. Copleston, of Corpus, nephew of the late Provost, who had been elected in 1827. Denison was a good scholar and an accomplished man, but of an inferior calibre to that of Newman and Froude. Copleston had little but his name to recommend him. R. D. Hampden was brought back to give a certain amount of instruction; but, on the whole, the Provost had hard work to keep the teaching level up to mediocrity.

It was at this period that the association of the common-room with Tractarianism was strongest. Newman and Hurrell Froude were still there; Keble was in frequent consultation. But it would be a great mistake to regard the association as very strong after all: Pusey had nothing to do with Oriel after 1829; Isaac Williams, Rose, Ward, all belonged elsewhere. Hurrell Froude was falling into serious ill-health; he and Newman were

abroad together from December, 1832, to June, 1833. Newman dated the start of the movement proper from Keble's assize sermon in July, 1833. For many years before and after that event Keble was only intermittently in Oxford at all. The Tractarianism of Oriel, in fact, was identified with Newman and what converts he made there.

One of the most distinguished of these was Charles Marriott, who was elected Fellow in 1833. Marriott was a Balliol man, who had taken a first in Classics and a second in Mathematics in 1832. He was soon put on the tutorial staff at Oriel, and remained a long time a centre of great influence in college. In 1839 he went to be Principal of the Diocesan Theological College at Chichester, but returned to Oriel in 1841. He was a man of philosophic mind, high conscientiousness, and great veneration, and at an early stage he became a thorough disciple of Newman and supporter of the movement. He had great influence in college, for he was given to hospitality and always ready to help. He took over Newman's establishment at Littlemore when Newman himself forsook it. In 1850 he succeeded Charles Page Eden as Vicar of St. Mary's. He was the real working editor of the *Library of Christian Fathers*.

Eden was a man of a different stamp. He had been a Bible Clerk at Oriel, and was elected to a Fellowship, after two unsuccessful attempts, in 1832. He was a contributor to the Tracts, but will live in literature by his great edition of Jeremy Taylor. He was Newman's immediate successor at St. Mary's, holding the vicarage from 1843 to 1850, when he took the college

living of Aberford, in Yorkshire. His power was pastoral and literary rather than academic or collegiate.

The Mozleys and the Wilberforces were striking figures associated with Oriel in those days. There were two Mozleys: James, who took his degree (only a third class) at Oriel in 1834, won the English essay in 1835, became Fellow of Magdalen and one of the most distinguished theologians of the century, author of the Bampton Lectures on Miracles, and Professor of Divinity in 1871. Then there was his brother Thomas, who married Newman's sister Harriet; he also achieved a third class at Oriel in 1828, but was elected to the Fellowship vacated by Pusey in 1829. He was a man of much liveliness and even brilliancy, as we may gather from his *Reminiscences*, but of no great depth either of character or learning. Yet to him in 1835 Hawkins was forced to resort to ask him to take tutorial work. Mozley had the good feeling to refuse.

The Wilberforces of Oriel were three: Robert, Samuel, and Henry, all sons of William Wilberforce, of Clapham, the great philanthropist. Robert Isaac, who took a double first in 1823, was the only one of the three to become Fellow. We remember that he was elected in 1826, and was one of the tutors who gave trouble afterwards; he was afterwards made Arch-deacon of the East Riding of Yorkshire, and after lending much support to the Tractarian party, joined the Church of Rome. Samuel, the next brother, took a second in Classics and a first in Mathematics in 1826; he became the well-known Bishop of Oxford. Henry, the youngest, took a first in Classics and a second in Mathematics in 1830, and the Denyer and Ellerton

prizes ; like his brother Robert, he was a convert to Rome.

Mark Pattison came up to Oriel in 1832. He has told us in his tart way quite enough in his *Memoirs* of the impression the college made upon him, of its great reputation, of the tutorial decline and incompetence, and of his gradual subjection to Newman's influence. To his great chagrin, Pattison got only a second class in 1836.

In 1836, as has been indicated, Keble resigned his Fellowship, being about to marry and settle down for the rest of his life at Hursley, in Hampshire. That same year Dornford, who had been Keble's successor in the tutorship, and had borne himself with some ambiguity in the quarrel of 1830, also resigned. Dornford was in many respects one of the most singular of the Oriel celebrities. Before he entered at Wadham he had served as a rifleman in the Peninsular War, and when he became prominent at Oriel his first-hand military experiences made a pleasant ingredient in the common-room talk. Mozley rattles amusingly about him :

“Wherever he was, indoors or out of doors, walking or riding, he was unmistakably the soldier. Canterng—for that was his usual pace—on a long-legged horse, with his martial cloak flying from his shoulders, beggars, the veriest strangers, addressed him ‘Noble captain.’ There was a sort of defiance in his air which even the creatures appeared to be sensible of. One hot summer's day a swarm of bees flew at him in Nuneham Courtney, and though he galloped all the way to Oxford, he had hardly got rid of them when he reached Oriel.”

By 1836 he had grown tired of college life, which was no longer what he had known it, and he retired to the college living of Plymtree, in Devonshire.

Henceforward the critical events in Oriel history, whether personal or constitutional, are not very numerous. The college gradually fell from its great temporary prominence into the position which has always perhaps seemed most adapted to it in modern times, that of a respected and even beloved training school of ordinary English gentlemen. Newman remained Fellow until 1845, the last year of his membership of the Church of England. From 1828 to 1843 he was Vicar of St. Mary's, dividing his time chiefly between his parish in Oxford and the outlying part of it at Littlemore, where he built a church and organized a Brotherhood, to which he retired between 1843 and 1846, when he could no longer conscientiously continue to serve St. Mary's. Nor was he without official duty in college. He was Dean from October, 1833, to October, 1834, and Junior Treasurer from October, 1838, to February, 1840. Through the painful years of transition and indecision Newman carried his burdened heart again and again into the old collegiate haunts, but nothing was the same. He writes to his sister in August, 1844:

"I do fancy I am getting changed. I go into Oxford, and find myself out of place. Everything seems to say to me, 'This is not your home.' The college seems strange to me, and even the college servants seem to look as if I were getting strange to them."

On October 6, 1845, that sister wrote:

"I have had a letter, which I have been expecting and half dreading to receive, this week from J. H. N. to say he has written to the Provost to resign his Fellowship. He adds that now anything may be expected any day."

The resignation was made on October 3; it was literally the snapping of the last cord. It was on October 8 that Newman wrote from Littlemore to his sister the decisive words:

"This night Father Dominic, the Passionist, sleeps here. . . . I shall ask him to receive me into what I believe to be the One Fold of the Redeemer."

In the middle of the century Oriel had many good tutors and many eminent Fellows. In 1836 was elected Charles Daman, of Magdalen, and in 1838 Richard William Church, of Wadham. Both did much to keep up the tutorial tradition in the college; the personality and work of Church, Englishmen of all schools will admit, were such as any college might well be proud to have a share in.

James Fraser came from Lincoln in 1840, having taken a first class and the Ireland in 1839. He was soon made tutor, and resided in college till 1847, when he went first to Cholderton and then to Ufton Nervet. He was made Bishop of Manchester in 1870.

The years during which Fraser was leading tutor at Oriel were the forties, when Newman was beginning to feel the college more and more strange, and when, in fact, the common-room was falling a good deal under the control of the Broad Church influences of the time. Arthur Hugh Clough was elected Fellow from Balliol in 1842, his

colleague being Drummond Percy Chase, who is happily still among us, the last Principal of St. Mary Hall. In 1845 Matthew Arnold was elected, also from Balliol. James Anthony Froude came up to Oriel from Westminster in 1835, and took his second in 1840, adding to it the English essay in 1842, in which year he was elected Fellow of Exeter. As Hurrell Froude's brother, he might have been expected to let himself fall under the influence of Newman, whom he was so well able to appreciate intellectually. But it was not so. He was indeed put on to work at the *Acta Sanctorum*, but with serious results to his orthodoxy. Indeed, during the whole of his undergraduate career, Anthony Froude seems to have maintained a conspicuous reserve, as of one hardly at home in the element in which he found himself.

Clough became a tutor of his college, and with him was associated as tutor George Buckle, afterwards Canon of Wells, who took his degree at Corpus in 1842, and was elected Fellow of Oriel in the following year; he was Provost Hawkins's brother-in-law. Charles Peter Chretien, of Brasenose, was elected Fellow with Buckle, and remained a prominent figure in the college for a long time.

When in 1846 the vacancy made by Newman's resignation was filled by John William Burgon instead of Goldwin Smith, it was felt that the Oriel intuition as to the *dignitas* of candidates had evidently failed. As a matter of fact, however, Burgon was not chosen against Goldwin Smith. The latter was admittedly first in the judgment of the electors; but he was held ineligible on the ground of means, being the only child of a wealthy man. It was not till after this preliminary



From a photograph by the

THE QUADRANGLE OF ST. MARY HALL

[Oxford Camera Club



question had been decided that Burgon's claims were even considered. No perplexity could be caused by the election of 1848, which introduced John Earle and William Young Sellar, the late gifted Professor of Latin at Edinburgh, into the common-room.

In 1849 Clough resigned his Fellowship in order to become Warden of University Hall in London. In the fifties new names appeared, some of which were destined to play an important part in the future of the college. Henry E. Tweed, of Trinity, and Francis Harrison, of Queen's, were both elected in 1852. In 1856 Arthur Gray Butler came from University College, having taken the Ireland in 1853, and, with other honours, a place in the School of Law and Modern History in 1854, the second year of its existence. In 1859 David Binning Monro came from Balliol laden with honours, classical and mathematical. In 1861 Robert S. Wright (the present Mr. Justice Wright) was elected from Balliol with an admirable record, and in the following year James Bryce came from Trinity with a still more wonderful one.* In 1864 Charles Lancelot Shadwell was elected from Christ Church, and in 1865 succeeded Neate as Lecturer in Law and Modern History. In 1865 William Michael Collett came from Trinity. In 1869 William James Lewis came from Jesus; now Professor of Mineralogy at Cambridge, and still Fellow. In 1873 Francis Henry Hall came from Corpus, and in 1874 John Cook Wilson from Balliol.

* First Cl. Mod., 1859; Gaisford Prize (Prose), 1860; First Cl. L. and H., 1861; Vinerian Scholar, 1861; Gaisford Prize (Verse), 1861; Latin Essay, 1862; Craven Scholar, 1862; to which was added in 1863, that ever memorable "Arnold," the Holy Roman Empire.

Provost Hawkins was now nearly eighty-six, and he desired to resign his active functions into younger hands. It was certainly desirable for the college that he should do so. He petitioned the Lord Chancellor as Visitor that a Vice-Provost might be appointed, and Lord Cairns, who was on the Woolsack at the time, granted his petition with a graceful reluctance. D. B. Monro, the Dean, was appointed Vice-Provost, and A. G. Butler became Dean in his stead. On December 17, 1874, Provost Hawkins left Oriel and Oxford for ever. He went to Rochester, where he held a Canonry along with his Provostship, and there he lived in an honourable retirement for eight years more. In 1876 John Richard King, of Merton, was elected Fellow in Collett's place; in 1877 Lancelot Ridley Phelps, who had taken his degree from the college, was elected; and in 1881 Francis Charles Montague came from Balliol.

Provost Hawkins died on November 18, 1882, when he was within a few months of completing his ninety-fourth year, and was buried in the precincts of Rochester Cathedral. D. B. Monro, who had been Vice-Provost since 1874, was unanimously elected to the Provostship on December 20, 1882.

In Edward Hawkins there passed away one who, however opinions about him may differ, and however true it may be that he was misplaced during a large part of his active life, will always remain a figure of historic dimensions in Oxford college history. He was not versatile or mobile enough to act with equal wisdom and success in all parts of his long life; his will was probably at all times stronger than his intelligence, and often perhaps his strength of will was indistinguishable

from obstinacy. He was too inflexibly conservative to be a really successful head of a house in an age in which resistance to organic change was unreasonable. Yet the respect which he commanded in the early stages of his career from men superior to himself, and the respect which, in spite of all drawbacks, he succeeded in winning from many members of his college to the close of his active life, combine with the picturesqueness of his longevity and the wide range of his experience to make the phrase, "the Great Provost," not inappropriate. He walked up to his lights, though these may not always have been kindled at the highest sources; his very formalism was a kind of devotion to the ideal.

The events bearing on the constitutional history of Oriel during Hawkins's reign may be briefly rehearsed. On March 28, 1837, the college petitioned through Bishop Copleston against Lord Radnor's Bill for a Commission of Inquiry into the Colleges and Halls at Oxford and Cambridge. The petition set forth that Oriel was a royal Foundation, with the King as Visitor, and therefore deprecated Parliamentary inquiry, unless it could be shown that abuses existed for which the Founder provided no remedy, or upon other just and reasonable grounds. The college was not aware that, as the Bill asserted of divers colleges, it "habitually disregarded any recent statutes," though it had felt free to innovate in order to carry out the spirit of the Founder's intentions; nor would it admit that the endowments were in any way diverted from the purposes of the Founder. Whatever was to be done, let it be done by the Visitor, and not by Parliament.

The time had now arrived when Oriel was to follow

the lead of other colleges, and add Scholars to the various classes of her membership. The change in the value of money had seriously hindered the fulfilment of Richard Dudley's intentions, and the conscience of the Society was troubled. Accordingly on October 17, 1838, six Exhibitions or Scholarships were founded, with the express object of satisfying the supposed obligation; and at the same time a Scholarship to be held by an undergraduate of the college was created out of a bequest of £700 left for that purpose to the college by Richard Twopeny, Fellow from 1779 to 1787. The Scholarship was to be called the Rutland Exhibition, and was to be tenable for four years.

In 1843 Dean Ireland died, and when his will was read it was found to contain the following clause :

"upon trust to pay or transfer the sum of two thousand pounds Three Per Cent. Consols to the Provost and Fellows of Oriel College . . . that they may apply the interest, dividends, and annual produce thereof in equal portions yearly as Exhibitions to two or three deserving undergraduates of the said college, to be held by them until they are of sufficient standing to take the degree of Bachelor of Arts."

The college gratefully accepted the bequest.

In October, 1853, two more Exhibitions, additional to those of 1838, were founded.

In July, 1855, a college lectureship was founded in Law and Modern History to meet the need created by the new school in those subjects. The stipend was to be £120, and the lecturer was to be allowed to receive members of other colleges into his classes, provided each class did not exceed twenty in number. The appoint-

ment was to be triennial. Charles Neate was the first lecturer, and he was regularly re-elected until 1865, when he was succeeded by C. L. Shadwell.

So far as Oriel was concerned, the results of the work of the Commissioners during the great reforming period of the fifties were embodied in an Ordinance issued and confirmed by the Queen in Council in March, 1857. It is a document of fifty-four clauses, of which the chief points are as follows :

The Provost need not have been a Fellow of the college. A majority might elect him, and in case of equality of votes, the Dean, or in his absence the Senior Fellow present, should have a casting-vote. It was to be open to the college to commute the emoluments, wholly or partially, of the Provostship for a fixed sum, provided the Provost did not object.

In case the Provost became at any time incapacitated for his duties, a Vice-Provost might be appointed. This was to be done by the Lord Chancellor on petition to him either by the Provost himself or by a majority of the Fellows. In such a case the Lord Chancellor might

“nominate one of such three Fellows as, by the vote of the greatest number of the Fellows present at a meeting convened by the Dean, shall be presented to him, to be Vice-Provost of the college, and to assign to him for his maintenance, in addition to his Fellowship, so much (not exceeding one-third) of the Provost's emoluments as the Lord Chancellor shall think fit, provided that the Provost shall be at liberty to retain his lodgings.”

A Vice-Provost so appointed was to have the Provost's powers and authorities (except as to emolu-

ments), and to be liable to deprivation in the same manner.

Fellowships were to be all perfectly open, and were to be given, with certain exceptions, to the best candidates ascertained by examination.

Power was given to elect distinguished persons to honorary Fellowships.

The eighteenth clause ran as follows :

“No present or future Fellow shall be bound, as a condition of retaining his Fellowship, to enter into Holy Orders. But if at the time of holding an election to a Fellowship there shall not be five Fellows in Holy Orders, no person shall be eligible to such vacant Fellowship who shall not then be a priest or deacon of the United Church of England and Ireland. A person, being such priest or deacon, may in that case be elected, notwithstanding his having attained or exceeded the age of twenty-six years.”

This was modified in January, 1871, to the extent that the candidate elected to keep up the minimum of five clerical Fellows might take Deacon's Orders within three years from his election.

The first Fellowship to become vacant after the approval of the Ordinance was to be suspended for ten years, and the emoluments to be applied to “maintaining, augmenting, or establishing Scholarships.”

The third Fellowship to become vacant was also to be suspended, and the emoluments were to be paid to the Regius Professor of Modern History for the time being, subject to certain conditions. The emoluments might be commuted for a fixed annual sum of £250. This £250, if such commutation were made, was to be a

regular charge on the college; but the Fellowship might at any time be restored if the Provost and Fellows should think fit. It was also to be open to the college to elect the Professor to be a Fellow "without notice, examination, or probation." The first and only Regius Professor elected under this clause was William Stubbs, the present Bishop of Oxford, in October, 1867. His three successors in the chair—Edward Augustus Freeman, James Anthony Froude, and Frederick York Powell—have been also Fellows, but *ex officio* under the statutes of 1883.

The fifth Fellowship to become vacant was to be suspended, and the emoluments devoted to establishing and maintaining Exhibitions. Four of these, called Exhibitions of Adam de Brome, were to be established at once, each Exhibitioner receiving £60 a year at least, and the Exhibitions being tenable for twenty terms after matriculation.

The number of Fellowships was never to be less than seventeen (inclusive of suspended Fellowships, but exclusive of a Modern History Professor Fellowship), but it need not be greater. The Lord Chancellor, however, had power to diminish the number on receiving a petition to that effect from the college. The Lord Chancellor had power also to increase the number of Fellows if the revenues of the college were such as to allow to each Fellow an average income of more than £300 a year.

There were always to be ten Scholarships at least, each Scholar receiving £60 a year and rooms rent free, and each Scholarship was to be tenable for five years.

In the eighties the depression in the value of land

began to tell on the revenues of the college, and early in January, 1882, a largely-signed petition was sent to the Lord Chancellor, Lord Selborne, calling attention to the power of the Visitor to diminish temporarily the regular minimum of seventeen Fellows for the sake of the emoluments of the Society. The petitioners pointed out that, owing to the depressed state of agriculture, it was impossible to maintain the Adam de Brome Exhibitioners "without diminishing the dividends of the Provost and Fellows, which have already been considerably reduced." Two Fellowships had been vacated by the deaths of Charles Neate and H. H. Crucknell, and the petitioners proposed that these should be suspended from December 31, 1881, to March 29, 1883, "and that the emoluments thereof during such suspension be applied to the increase of the Exhibition Fund of the college." The petition was granted on January 14, 1882.

In this year (1882), when the death of Provost Hawkins closed an epoch, and the government of the college passed completely into the hands which still carry it on, our history must come to an end.

CHAPTER VIII

THE CHAPEL, THE HALL, AND THE COMMON-ROOMS

Not much has been said of the college buildings at Oriel since we noticed the completion of the chief part of them in 1642. It will be well at this point to bring back our sightseer, and invite him to fix in his memory the most interesting features of the buildings and their contents as they now are.

First let us enter the doorway opening from the lodge on the south side. It opens on a staircase, and the staircase leads to the tower over the gate. On the first story of the tower is a room, now disused for any regular purpose, but which used to be the capitular meeting-place of the college. It was here that Fellowship examinations were conducted, and that new Fellows were brought to greet their colleagues; here that Newman felt himself sinking into the ground at the touch of Keble's hand; here, too, it was that collections used to be held, those awe-inspiring termly trials where Hawkins was wont to ask for a definition of parallels, and to point his moral with two quills picked off the table. On the floor above is the chamber containing the college

archives, according to the arrangement usual in monastic and collegiate buildings.

Returning to the gateway and the front quadrangle, we naturally, perhaps, make first for Newman's rooms. They were on the first floor of the southern building, and were reached from the easternmost door next the chapel. They themselves adjoined the chapel, and communicated with what was in those days a kind of large closet or lumber-room, lighted by the bay-window over the chapel door. This room Newman used as an oratory, and when the days of excitement and trial began, his voice in prayer, and even the words he used, might be heard by those in the quadrangle, so that he had to abandon so public a retreat. The rooms were of the most unpretending sort, and furnished with extreme simplicity. Before Newman's time they had been occupied by Whately, and simplicity of a different complexion from Newman's characterized them under his régime.

Keble's rooms were also in the south building, on the first floor on the staircase to the west of Newman's.

The chapel, originally opened for Divine service in 1642, was restored in 1860. The restoration, which enlarged the organ-loft and altered the position of the organ, necessitated the disappearance of Newman's oratory. As it stands, the chapel is a small and unpretending structure, lighted almost entirely by stained glass. Of the windows, the only ones that specially deserve mention are: one at the western end of the south wall representing Christ in the arms of St. Simeon, put in in 1767 in memory of Henry, Duke of Beaufort; the large one at the west end in memory of Provost

Hawkins, put in in 1882; and one in the north wall in memory of John Frank, the great benefactor of the college. Within the altar-rails are the initials and dates of death marking the graves of the three Provosts, Robert Say, George Royse, and George Carter.

The chapel boasts only three monuments, all of which are in the ante-chapel. Side by side on the north wall are commemorated the two protagonists of the great lawsuit, Henry Edmunds and Provost Carter. Edmunds' tablet is the more artistic of the two, and the inscription on it makes no attempt to ignore the storms with which Edmunds was associated. He was admitted "*non sine gravi litigationis discrimine, cujus decursus memorabilis hominis sagacissimi ingenium illustravit, cujus felix exitus collegii jura stabilivit.*"

The tablet to Carter was constructed by Eveleigh in 1811, and its inscription records in plain Latin his good deeds and well-known benefactions. At right angles to it there is a small tablet to the memory of William Henry Stowe, who was elected Fellow in 1852, and went to the Crimea, where he died at Balaclava in 1855.

Now let us glance at the portraits in the hall. At the east end, over the high table, are large full-length portraits of Edward II., in the middle, with Queen Anne* and Bishop Butler on either side of him. At the west end, in the Musicians' Gallery, are Sir Walter Raleigh; Charles, Duke of Beaufort; John Rouse, Bodley's librarian and Milton's friend; and Richard Mant, the commentator, and Bishop of Dromore, elected Fellow of Oriel in 1798. Returning towards the high table, we find, on the right-hand wall, first John Keble

* The portrait of Queen Anne was a gift from Bishop Robinson.

in old age, then Whately, then Arnold of Rugby. On the opposite wall, in the same order, are Fraser, the late Bishop of Manchester; John Endell Tyler; and Bishop Robinson.

So far as portraits are concerned, the glory of Oriel is its common-rooms, and especially the smaller of the two, the walls of which are crowded with engravings of the most eminent members of the college. Let us walk through the rooms, and refresh our memories as to the personnel of the Society, and do tardy justice to some names which pressure on space has forced us to leave out hitherto.

In the first and principal common-room the portraits are nearly all in oil. According to the most recent arrangement, Bishop Copleston, who will always, more than any other single man, be identified with the greatest days of the college, hangs over the fireplace. He is flanked by Eveleigh, on the spectator's right; on the left by Edward Hawkins. On the opposite wall are, on the spectator's right, Renn Dickson Hampden, the cause of so many theological and ecclesiastical wars; and, on the left, William Seymour, who matriculated at Oriel in 1809, and became Chief Justice of Bombay, where he died in 1829. He is in his judicial robes. On the wall opposite the outer door the only portrait is one of Newman in Cardinal's robes and scarlet skull-cap, by Ouliss. On the opposite wall is Orchardson's portrait of the present Provost, flanked by not very satisfactory likenesses of Matthew Arnold and James Anthony Froude.

But it is the walls of the inner room which have most to tell us. Most of the pictures are named, and speak

for themselves. From over the two principal doors Dean Burgon and Dean Church look at one another. Over the third door hangs the thoughtful and expressive, but by no means especially poetic, head of Arthur Hugh Clough. It is in crayon, and by Lawrence. Specially noteworthy, on the eastern wall of the room, are Bishop Butler; Newman, in early middle age, from a picture by Sir W. C. Ross; Joseph Warton, the poet and critic of Pope, whom, from dress and attitude, one is inclined at first sight to take for Dr. Johnson. Then there is an engraving of Romney's picture of James Brudenell, fifth Lord Cardigan, who matriculated at Oriel in 1743, and died in 1811. Above him hangs Bishop Talbot, the father of Butler's friends and patrons; and adjoining him is his son, the Lord Chancellor. Higher still, in the same line with the Bishop, and above an engraving from the portrait of Eveleigh, is Sidney, Lord Herbert of Lea, who matriculated at Oriel in 1828, and, under his better-known name of Sidney Herbert won the fame of a true reformer and eminent administrator under Peel, Lord Aberdeen, and Lord Palmerston. The late Professor W. G. Sellar; the present Bishop of Lincoln, Dr. Edward King, who took his degree from Oriel; Lord Malmesbury, who matriculated in 1825, and attacked Newman's tutorial methods in his *Memoirs of an Ex-Minister*; Dean Ireland, with his rough, sensible face, represented as carrying the crown at the coronation of George II.; Sir John Holt, the Chief Justice, with long black locks; Charles Wood, first Lord Halifax, who entered at Oriel in 1818; Edward Willes, Bishop of Bath and Wells, who entered in 1709; Thomas Francis Fremantle,

Lord Cottesloe, who entered in 1816, are on the same wall.

On the northern wall, where the fireplace is, are to be seen a profile of Bishop Egerton, of Durham; the present Lord Balfour of Burleigh, a distinguished living member of the college; the handsome Sir Charles Augustus Murray, who matriculated at Oriel in 1824, and became Fellow of All Souls and Danish Minister. On the space directly over the fireplace there is an interesting group. At the top hangs the royal founder, King Edward II., a half-length portrait; the King, with sceptre and ball, looking from a window, with a representation of his murder below, and on a scroll above the legend: "*Occidere nolite timere bonum est.*" Below the King, Sir John Holt appears again; and below him Sir Robert Harley of Brampton Bryan, the benefactor of the college, and husband of the brave "*Brilliana.*" Edward II. is flanked on his right and left respectively by Sir Walter Raleigh and Bishop Smyth, the benefactor of Oriel, and one of the founders of Brasenose. Archbishop Arundel, Bishop Robinson, Bishop Lloyd, and William Cardinal Allen, who became Archbishop of Mechlin, and was Fellow of Oriel from 1550-61, complete this little group. Allen was a man of very considerable importance, both in Oxford and in the theological world of his time. Besides being Fellow of Oriel, he was Principal of St. Mary Hall from 1556 to 1560. In 1561, when Elizabeth was well settled on the throne, his zealous Catholicism forced him to leave England, and from 1565 onward he led the life of an exile, and spent his great energies wholly on the Continent. His face, as it appears in the Oriel portrait, is grave, intellectual, and resolute.

On the reach of wall beyond the fireplace hangs an oval woodcut of William Prynne, from *The Prelate's Tyranny*. Then come Robert Pierrepont, Earl of Kingston, with the fatal pinnace in the distance; and Sir Henry Unton of Wadley, who died in 1595. The rest are more modern. There is Thomas Pennant, of the *Tour in Scotland* (1726-98), from a Gainsborough portrait, looking handsome and picturesque, with a background of rural scenery. Pennant can only just be claimed for Oriel. There are William Stubbs, the present Bishop of Oxford, who was a Fellow of Oriel as Professor of Modern History; Goldwin Smith, made an Honorary Fellow of the college in 1867; and Sir Edmund Walker Head, who matriculated at Oriel in 1823, and took his B.A. degree, with first-class honours, in 1828. He was Governor-General of Canada from 1854 to 1861, and died in 1868. Head was one of the most accomplished and scholarly men of his time. Samuel Wilberforce is there, and John Keble, and Renn Dickson Hampden; Sir John Somerset Pakington, Lord Hampton, who entered at Oriel in 1818, and had a place in each of Lord Derby's three Cabinets in 1852, 1859, and 1866-68; and John Winston Spencer Churchill, the seventh Duke of Marlborough, who matriculated at Oriel in 1840, and died in 1883.

On the western wall hang, among others, William Berriman; Arnold of Rugby; Sir John Dodson, Dean of The Arches 1849-57, who entered at Oriel in 1797; George Richards, Fellow from 1790 to 1797; Harry George Vane, fourth Duke of Cleveland (entered 1821 and died 1891); John Richard Magrath, the present Provost of Queen's, who matriculated as a Scholar of

Oriel in 1856; John Yarde Buller, first Lord Churston (entered 1816; died 1871); Sir George Grey (entered 1817; died 1882), one of the most estimable of the Whig statesmen of the nineteenth century, and Home Secretary, with few intermissions, from 1846 to 1868; Gathorne Hardy, first Viscount and Earl Cranbrook (entered 1832), M.P. for Oxford University, 1865-78; Edward Denison, Bishop of Salisbury 1837-54 (entered at Oriel 1818); John William Ward, fourth Viscount and first Earl of Dudley, and ninth Lord Ward (entered 1799), who was Foreign Secretary in Canning's short-lived Ministry in 1827-28, and died in 1833. Ward migrated from Oriel to Corpus, whence he took his degree. His curious blend of scholarship, statesmanship, and eccentricity made him a notable figure during his life of fifty-two years. The Oriel portrait (which the college owes to the gift of Miss Hawkins) is a lithographed profile, after a drawing by Edward Berens, Fellow of Oriel. It represents Ward as he was when he matriculated in 1799, and under the signature and date is the following postscript: 'The Verses go on miserably, yet I neither drink, hunt, shoot, or fish.' The only other portrait on this wall which needs to be mentioned is that of R. W. Jelf.

Low down on the southern wall, in an obscure place, hangs a pert face, surmounting a vast Regency neckcloth, which, on inspection, our sightseer finds to belong to Beau Brummell. George Bryan Brummell (1778-1840), the dandy of the Regency and the twenties, whose disapprobation of the cut of his coat made the Prince Regent cry, was entered at Oriel for a few months in 1794, but soon left the University for

regions where his talents found more congenial exercise. Above him hangs Lord Blachford, who, as Frederick Rogers, won an honourable fame both at Oriel and beyond it. Born in 1811, he matriculated from Oriel in 1828, coming up from Eton and passing at once under the influence of Hurrell Froude and Newman, who were entering on their brief tutorial supremacy. Rogers had a brilliant career. He was Craven Scholar in 1829, and took a double first in 1832. In 1833 he was elected Fellow of Oriel, along with Charles Marriott, and held his Fellowship until 1845, the year of Newman's departure from Oxford and Anglicanism. Keble was one of the examiners for the Fellowship, and was greatly struck by Rogers's performance. Rogers devoted himself to Law (becoming Vinerian Scholar in 1834 and Vinerian Fellow in 1840), and was called to the Bar; but while he held his Fellowship he was much at Oxford, and was one of the best elements of the Tractarian party. He was one of the founders of the *Guardian*, in 1846, and, after he left Oxford, he acquitted himself with great credit in public life. He was Permanent Under-Secretary for the Colonies from 1860 to 1871. He died in 1889.

Above Blachford hangs Henry Jenkyns, brother of the Master of Balliol, Canon of Durham, and Fellow of the college from 1818 to 1835.

On the wall between the two windows a few portraits need a word of notice. Charles Neate, whom we remember in 1856 as the first college lecturer in Law and Modern History, is there, and he deserves to be. He was elected Fellow of Oriel in 1828, coming from Lincoln, where he had taken a first class. In every sphere which

he entered Neate was a brilliant and striking figure. He took a keen interest in economic subjects, and was Drummond Professor of Political Economy at Oxford from 1857 to 1862. In 1857 he entered Parliament as Liberal member for the city of Oxford, but was soon afterwards unseated on petition. He was again elected without a contest in 1863, and sat till the dissolution of 1868. During the last ten years of his life Neate lived much in Oxford, and was Senior Fellow of Oriel when he died in 1879. He was Senior Treasurer from 1845 to 1849, and in that capacity was one of the first to recognise the duties of the colleges as owners of property, and to set on foot the movement for the abolition of the old system of beneficial leases. With him began that attitude of sympathy and friendliness towards the college tenants of which Oriel is still proud. He was an accomplished classic, and had a remarkable knowledge of French. A list of his numerous and useful writings will be found in the life of Neate in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, which is from the pen of Mr. W. R. Morfill, the Professor of Russian at Oxford, himself a distinguished member of Oriel.

Near Neate hangs Thomas Hughes, the author of *Tom Brown*, who matriculated at Oriel in 1841, and took his B.A. degree in 1845. Hughes did not remain at Oxford, but went to London to follow the legal profession, and to sow broadcast the tradition of Arnold's Rugby. Here also are Blanco White, and Sir John Awdry, the Chief Justice of Bombay, who was a Fellow from 1819 to 1832. Here is to be seen the spiritual face of Charles Marriott, with its wonderful

forehead ; here are George Anthony Denison, Keble and Newman, again from Richmond's paintings ; Sir William Heathcote (entered 1819, died 1881), who became Fellow of All Souls, and represented the University of Oxford in Parliament from 1854 to 1868 ; and James Wentworth Buller (entered 1815, B.A. 1819, died 1865), who was M.P. for Exeter 1830-35, and for North Devon 1857-65.

Among the furnishings of the larger common-room there is a table which belonged to White of Selborne, and at which he is understood to have written his *Natural History*.

There is still room on the walls for distinguished members of the college still living, whose names it would be impertinent to suggest. It seems probable that among those there will one day be found the likenesses of George Joachim Goschen, who matriculated in 1850, and of Cecil John Rhodes, who matriculated in October, 1873, and took his Bachelor's and Master's degrees together in 1881. It was at Oriel that Mr. Rhodes saw visions of Empire, many of which seem likely to be realized.

CHAPTER IX

THE LIBRARY

FROM the common-rooms we mount to the library, which, as we remember, occupies the floor above, and was the original *raison d'être* of the whole building. Some of the chief events in the development of the Oriel library have been noticed as they occurred. It may be well very briefly to summarize the salient features of the institution as it now is.

The chamber in which the books are housed presents no great attractions to spectators or readers. It is a plain, unadorned room, with a lofty ceiling, and a semicircular east end, the principal bookcases being flat to the walls, the upper ones reached from a gallery. A few cases stand on the floor. There are large terrestrial and celestial globes, and some desks, with graceful but austere stools for readers. The room is lighted by five large square windows. Over the doorway at the west end there is a small bust of King Edward II. At the east end there is a pleasant-looking bust of Copleston on a pedestal. Besides a chair which belonged to White of Selborne, there is nothing of special interest in the furniture or fittings.

The library, if not rich in manuscripts, at least contains some which are well worthy of note. For a complete list the reader must be referred to Coxe's Catalogue. Amongst those who have given or bequeathed manuscripts are to be found the names of Provosts Leyntwardyn, Sampson, Hawkyns, Taylor, and Tolson, Thomas Gascoigne, the Earl of Kingston, Lord Leigh, and many others. There are an Aurelius Prudentius, dating probably from the tenth century, the gift of Provost Taylor, and twelfth-century manuscripts of Eusebius, the gift of Provost Sampson, and of the *Etymologiæ* of Isidore of Seville. There is a twelfth-century *Canones Ecclesiastici*, the gift of Andrew Mankyswell, a Fellow of the college about 1450. The Earl of Kingston in 1599 gave a thirteenth-century Vulgate. In 1692 Henry Gandy, on ceasing to be a Fellow in consequence of his being a nonjuror, gave to the library a beautiful fourteenth-century Sarum Missal. To the same century belongs a manuscript of the *Leges Anglorum*. Of high value and interest is the manuscript numbered XXXII. in Coxe's Catalogue, which is John Capgrave's *Postilla*, or Commentary on Genesis, "anno scilicet 1438 manu Johannis Capgrave ad usum Humfredi ducis de Glocestria bene exaratus." There is prefixed to it the following autograph: "Cest livre est a moy Homfrey duc de Gloucestre du don frere Jehan Capgrave quy le me fist presenter a mon manoir de Pensherst le jour de lan lan cccc.xxxviiij."

The supposed residence of the author at Oriel led to the presentation to the library of a good manuscript of *Piers Plowman*, numbered LXXIX. in Coxe's Catalogue. A Greek manuscript of the Gospels, quarto,

on vellum, presented to the college in 1883 by Daniel Parsons, M.A., of Oriel, and a copy of the second version of Wiclif's Gospels are, perhaps, the only other manuscripts which need be mentioned here. All that have been described are on view in a case.

Of early printed books, the most interesting in the possession of the college are a copy of Cicero's *De Officiis*, printed at Mainz, and a volume of early printed tracts, one of these being the Oxford Jerome, with the date of 1468, and another the still rarer Ægidius, *De Peccato Originali*, of which only two other copies are known to exist: one in the Bodleian, and another (imperfect) in the John Rylands (Spencer) Library at Manchester.

Lord Leigh's large bequest included a copy of the First Folio of Shakespeare, and was in other respects a most creditable nobleman's library. An important part of it consists in handsomely-illustrated volumes on the contents of the principal and most celebrated foreign picture galleries.

About the rest of the library there is not very much to be said. Various bequests have been made in the present century. Provost Hawkins left to the college about 800 or 900 volumes, such as one might expect to find in the library of the cultured head of an Oxford college. Dean Church left about 300 well-selected volumes, chiefly historical. Professor Froude left a copy of the Rolls Series, not quite complete, and Mr. Poste gave during his lifetime about fifty or sixty volumes of Civil Law.

Some years ago a number of colleges came to an understanding that they would respectively try to make

their libraries complete, each in one field of learning. According to this scheme Oriel was to undertake Philology, and the result is that the library contains a large proportion of philological publications. The scheme, however, was not followed out, and no recent attempt has been made to keep up with the progress of philological research and theory. But the College has been careful to stock its shelves with the chief modern works in all departments, except fiction, which have seemed worth buying. These are kept by themselves in the old tennis-court of the college opening from the west side of Oriel Street, in a place freely accessible to undergraduate members.

CHAPTER X

ATHLETICS

No college history in these days, on however small a scale it may be, is complete without a word on athletics, and the athletic fame of Oriel in recent years has been by no means small.

For the sake of chronological accuracy we must begin with boating, though it is hardly of the river that one thinks when one speaks of the recent athletic fame of the college. Eight-oared racing made its appearance in Oxford in the teens of the present century, but in a tentative manner, and it was long until inter-collegiate racing reached important dimensions. During the twenties and thirties, however, the Eights were steadily gaining ground; boat-clubs were being formed in some colleges. Between 1829 and 1839 three races were rowed between Oxford and Cambridge; and in the latter year the Oxford University Boat Club was formed to organize and encourage rowing in the University. From that date onwards full energy on the river may be said to have set in.

Oriel seems to have put an Eight on the river in 1828 for the first time. In that year there were six boats,

and Oriel mounted from the sixth to the fifth place by bumping Trinity. In 1836 Oriel, starting sixth, finished second; 1839-1845 were good years for the college; from sixth in 1839 the boat mounted steadily to the proud position of head of the river in 1842, by bumping Trinity. This race for the headship, Mr. Sherwood reminds us, is described in *Tom Brown at Oxford*, "St. Ambrose" being Oriel, and "Oriel" Trinity. In 1843 Oriel lost its primacy, but it finished second in that year, and did not begin to sink until 1844. The crew of the head boat were as follows:

O. Williams (bow).	6. J. M'Kie.
2. F. Darling.	7. T. D. Belfield.
3. W. Wilberforce.	G. E. Hughes (stroke).
4. W. Æ. Seys.	F. H. G. Nicolls (cox).
5. G. D. Bourne.	

James M'Kie, of Bargaly, Kirkcudbrightshire, was a scholar of Oriel and M.P. for Kirkcudbrightshire 1857-1867. Never again did Oriel stand very high in the Eights. In 1852 the college put no boat on the river; in 1855 it reappeared as fifteenth. In 1858 and 1859 Oriel were third; after that they sank again, and the highest place reached afterwards was fifth, in 1876.

An Oriel Torpid appeared in 1839, and at the end of that year and in the following was head. The college boat repeated its triumph in 1844 and 1845. Third in 1853, the Torpid thenceforward fell into an obscurity similar to that of the Eight.

To the Oxford and Cambridge Boatrace Oriel contributed, in 1842, G. D. Bourne and G. E. Hughes; in 1845, W. Buckle; in both the races of 1849 C. H.

Steward ; in 1865 and 1866, E. F. Henley ; in 1874, J. S. Sinclair ; and, it is now possible to add, in 1900 T. B. Etherington Smith.

G. E. Hughes and J. M'Kie rowed at Henley for the Grand Challenge Cup in 1841 and 1843 ; H. M. Walter and T. D. Belfield in 1842 ; and W. Buckle in 1844 and 1845. W. King helped to win the Cup in 1847. In 1849 Oriel lost to Wadham. C. H. Steward was in the winning boat for the Stewards' Cup in 1850.

Cricket and football came into the field later than rowing, and it is in connection with them that Oriel has won her chief athletic laurels. As for cricket, taking as the best test of proficiency the number of Blues in the college, we note that from 1873 onwards Oriel has been well represented in the Oxford and Cambridge contest. Thus, W. H. Game played in the matches of 1873-76 inclusive ; E. W. Wallington in 1877 ; A. H. Evans from 1878-79 inclusive ; C. W. M. Kemp in 1878 ; F. L. Evelyn in 1880 ; C. G. Harrison in 1881 and 1882 ; E. Peake in 1881 and 1882 ; E. D. Shaw in 1882 ; J. H. Brain and K. J. Key from 1884-1887 inclusive ; F. H. Gresson in 1887, 1888, and 1889 ; G. W. Ricketts in 1887 ; G. Fowler in 1888 ; L. C. H. Palairret from 1890-93 inclusive ; W. H. Brain in 1891, 1892, and 1893 ; R. C. N. Palairret in 1893 and 1894 ; G. R. Bardswell in 1894, 1896, and 1897 ; P. F. Warner in 1895 and 1896 ; B. D. Bannon in 1898 ; and B. J. T. Bosanquet in 1898 and 1899. A. H. Evans was captain both of the University Cricket Eleven and the University Association Football Eleven ; K. J. Key was for many years captain of the Surrey eleven, and L. C. H. Palairret of the Somerset eleven,

as well as of the O.U.C.C., whilst P. F. Warner played for the O.U.C.C. and Middlesex. In one year Oriel contributed five men to the University cricket eleven.

During the same period the college has been even more distinguished in Association football. The following is the list of Blues, with dates, since 1875:

J. H. Bridges, 1875.	R. C. N. Palairer, 1891.
W. A. S. Merewether, 1875.	E. C. Bliss, 1893-95.
A. G. Williams, 1875.	F. C. Robinson, 1893.
T. E. B. Guy, 1876.	G. C. Vassall, 1896-1899.
F. D. Simpson, 1876.	C. H. Wilson, 1897-98.
E. Waddington, 1877, 1878.	E. M. Jameson, 1897-1900.
F. D. Crowdy, 1880.	B. O. Corbett, 1896-97.
E. H. Hill, 1880, 1881.	M. Morgan - Owen, 1897,
P. M. Walters, 1885-89.	1899, 1900.
C. W. Waddington, 1888.	W. Blackburn, 1899, 1900.
C. Wreford-Brown, 1888-89.	C. Wild, 1900.
E. Jackson, 1890-91.	R. Stormonth-Darling, 1900.
H. Hansard, 1890-91.	

For Rugby Football the following is the list since 1873: A. T. Michell, 1873-75; W. H. Game, 1873-75; T. C. Lloyd, 1873 and 1875; J. H. Bainbrigge, 1875, 1877, 1878; J. Forman, 1876-77; A. Law, 1876; A. H. Evans, 1878-79; G. O. Jacob, 1879-80; C. F. H. Leslie, 1881-82; K. J. Key, 1886-87; E. A. Surtees, 1886; P. Cochran, 1890; A. R. Kay, 1890-91. It may be mentioned that the last three captains of the O.U.A.F.C. have been Oriel men.

Lastly, the Blues in athletic sports who have represented Oxford against Cambridge are: A. C. Tosswill, long jump (won), 1868. C. W. M. Kemp, long jump,

1877 (won), 1878 (won), 1879 ; hurdles, 1877-79. H. W. Macaulay, weight, 1878-79 ; high jump, 1879. E. J. Beaumont, high jump, 1881. E. Money-Wigram, weight, 1885. E. H. F. Bradby, quarter, 1887 ; 100 yards, 1888. D. Crossman, 100 yards, 1891 ; quarter, 1891. L. C. H. Palairret, three miles, 1891. E. T. Garnier, hurdles, 1896 (won), 1897 (won), 1898 (won) ; G. C. Vassall, long jump, 1896, 1897 (won), 1898 (won), 1899 (won). H. F. Deakin, three miles, 1896 ; mile, 1897-98. H. S. Adair, high jump, 1897, 1898 (won), 1899 (won). B. D. Bannon, hammer, 1898. J. D. Greenshields, hammer, 1899 (won), 1900 (won) ; weight, 1899, 1900. B. J. T. Bosanquet, hammer, 1899, 1900 ; E. E. B. May, weight, 1900 (won) : G. R. Garnier, hurdles, 1900.

In one respect there is, perhaps, nothing inappropriate in closing this history with a record of athletic achievement. For better or for worse, eminence in muscle has come to stand at the English Universities on something very like an equality with eminence in intellect. Such equality the typical Englishman never finds difficulty in explaining and justifying on the highest grounds, and the story of our college has been badly told indeed if the reader does not realize that it has been on the whole essentially a training school of typical Englishmen. Nothing morbid, fantastic or one-sided, it is to be believed and hoped, has found, or ever will find, a congenial atmosphere within its precincts. *Floreat Oriel.*

APPENDICES

I

THE COLLEGE ARMS.—The proper heraldic description of the Oriel coat-of-arms is: Within a bordure, engrailed, *argent*, three lions of England, *i.e.*, three lions or leopards passant regardant *or*, on a field *gules*.

II

THE COLLEGE PLATE.—It is desirable to view the Oriel plate with no illusions on the subject. In the first place, where an article bears the name of a particular person, it does not follow that that person was the donor in the proper sense of the word. In Dr. Shadwell's words: "Part of the fees (of Fellow Commoners) was applied to the purchase of College plate; and the earliest notice of their names is in the form of a register recording the several articles of which they were the accredited donors, though it is tolerably clear that they had little choice in the matter, and that the pieces of plate to which their names were affixed were paid for out of the tax to which they were required to contribute." Secondly, the bulk of the Oriel plate, like that of other colleges, went to help Charles I.'s Exchequer during the Civil War. Lastly, "it

was" (again to quote Dr. Shadwell) "the frequent practice to sell or exchange pieces of plate which had become worn out, or were no longer in fashion ; and, even if there had been no Civil War, it is probable that very few of the ancient gifts would have been handed down to modern times."

The only pieces remaining of pre-Reformation plate are :

1. The Founder's Cup, silver-gilt, ornamented with the letter E (the initial of the founder's name) and with entwined chaplets, after the design of the well-known collar of SS.

2. Bishop Carpenter's cocoa-nut, enclosed in a rich silver-gilt frame, with stem and foot of the same.

3. The same Bishop's mazer bowl, the print of delicate enamel, and with legend on the rim :

*" Vir ratione bibas, non quod petit atra voluptas
Sic caro casta datur lis lingue suppeditatur."*

Other fine pieces of later date are the Lion Tankard, the gift in 1679 of Richard Wenman, afterwards fourth Viscount Wenman ; the Wenman Cup, bequeathed to the college by his grandson Richard, sixth Viscount ; the punch bowl, presented by the Corporation of Bristol to Henry Edmunds, and bequeathed by him to the college ; Bishop Butler's claret-jug, now used as a coffee-pot ; and a small tankard of Spanish workmanship, with a view of the town of Bilbao and other subjects in raised relief, the gift in 1883 of Mr. Daniel Parsons.

III

THE CALENDAR OF 1397.—This calendar, which was privately printed by Dr. Shadwell in 1899, sheds some gleams on the medieval condition of the College. It is

prefixed to the "Register of College Muniments," compiled in 1397. The reckoning of the weeks was then as now from supper on one Friday to dinner on the following Friday, so that a feast-day falling on Friday might give its name either to the week which then ended or to the week which then began. In his Introduction to the Calendar Dr. Shadwell gives a list of the Gaudies observed in the college in the eighteenth century. They were these :

- Nov. 1. All Saints.
- Dec. 8. Conception B.V.M.
- „ 25. Christmas Day.
- Jan. 1. Circumcision.
- „ 6. Epiphany.
- Feb. 2. Purification B.V.M.
- Shrove Monday.
- Mar. 25. Annunciation B.V.M.
- Easter Day.
- Ascension Day.
- Whitsunday.
- Aug. 15. Assumption B.V.M.
- Sept. 8. Nativity B.V.M.

Of these, only the Conception and the Purification, on December 8 and February 2, are still observed.



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